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Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970

By Peter J. Usher

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Report

**FUR TRADE POSTS OF THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
1870 – 1970**

by

Peter J. Usher

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to the Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Issued Under the Authority of the
Honourable Jean Chretien, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development.

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DEDICATION

To all the trappers and traders who made their living in the Northwest Territories. Their story should be heard, and their role in the northern drama remembered.

ABSTRACT

This volume contains a list of all fur trade posts operating within the present boundaries of the Northwest Territories between 1870 and 1970. Information is provided on location, ownership, opening and closing dates, and other pertinent details. The volume is divided into two parts, the first being a list by location, the second being a list by ownership. An introductory text discusses the sources of information, the compilation and use of the list, and provides a brief outline of the development of the fur trade in the Northwest Territories.

FOREWORD

Many changes have occurred in northern Canada in recent years, but perhaps none so profound as the abandonment by native Northerners of their land-based way of life in favour of an urban, wage economy. To those only recently aware of the north, the fur trade seems an archaic remnant of a past age. To most Northerners themselves, however, the fur trade is a real and living memory, a central part of life as a child or even as an adult. The sources of information on the recent fur trade in the north are many — the people themselves, government documents and statistical records, diaries, newspapers and so on. Yet little use has been made of these sources. This volume will be, it is hoped, a significant contribution to the literature on the northern fur trade, and should serve as a basic reference work on this subject.

A.J. Kerr,
Chief,
Northern Science Research Group.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am pleased to acknowledge the capable assistance of Mrs. Mary Jane Jones, who did most of the research on the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, including those now in the possession of the Public Archives of Canada. I also wish to acknowledge the work done by Mr. Arthur Petch and Mrs. Emma Petch in compiling the Trading and Trafficking Returns and the Fur Export Tax Returns. I am grateful to Mr. Henry Mann of the N.W.T. Game Management Service, for his advice and assistance in using Territorial fur trade records.

This list would not have been nearly as accurate nor as complete without the personal interest displayed by over forty individuals who by reason of residence, business or profession have an intimate knowledge of the north and especially of the fur trade. Through correspondence and personal interviews these people put flesh on the bare bones of the documentary evidence. Most of their names are given in the bibliographies at the end of each section, and I owe them all a great debt.

I also wish to thank Mrs. Ida Lamb for typing the manuscript, and Mr. R. Norgren for drafting the maps and diagrams.

Peter J. Usher

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Canadian historians have devoted considerable attention to the fur trade during its era of primacy in this country. Its decline, however, has not been subjected to the same scrutiny. The fur trade is commonly associated with the pre-confederation era, and even before 1867 it was being overshadowed by other developing industries.

In 1870, Rupert's Land was sold to the new Dominion of Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly therein terminated. The last hundred years have brought the eclipse of the fur trade as an economic endeavour of national importance. Although the total value of furs traded today is far greater than during the 18th and 19th centuries, the fur trade has become of regional significance only. Unquestionably the region most dependent on the trade has been that contained within the present boundaries of the Northwest Territories. As late as 1946, furs were the most valuable single resource exported from that territory, and even today, among the native population, more people receive income from furs than from any other resource-based activity.

The purpose of this publication is to provide a basic document prerequisite to the analysis of the fur trade in the Northwest Territories: a comprehensive listing of all fur trade establishments operating within its present boundaries during the last century. There is a wealth of primary and secondary source material on this subject, but such a comprehensive listing has never been available. This list attempts to provide an updated version, for the Northwest Territories, of Voorhis' *Historic Forts and Trading Posts*,¹ and is also complementary to the work of Smythe on Western Canada from 1670 to 1870.²

Morris Zaslow has discussed the general expansion of the fur trade into the Mackenzie Valley between 1870 and 1940.³ Similar work has been done for the Arctic Coast⁴ but not for the Eastern Arctic.

The impact of the fur trade on the present settlement pattern of the N.W.T. is well known. Of the approximately 50 population centres (excluding defence and meteorological stations), over three quarters were established for the purposes of the fur trade. What is less generally appreciated is that fur trade posts were maintained

¹E. Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies*. Dept. Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Branch, Ottawa, 1930. Mimeo.

²T. Smythe, *Thematic Study of the Fur Trade in the Canadian West, 1670-1870*. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa, 1968. Unpublished.

³M. Zaslow, *A History of Transportation and Development of the Mackenzie Basin from 1871 to 1921*, Unpublished M.A. thesis in history, University of Toronto, 1948, and *The Development of the Mackenzie Basin, 1920-40*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in history, University of Toronto, 1957.

⁴P.J. Usher, *Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine-Holman Region, N.W.T.* Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, NCRC-65-2, Ottawa, 1965, and *Growth and Decline of the Trading and Trapping Frontiers in the Canadian Western Arctic*, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, St. John's, Nfld., 21 August, 1969.

in many more places than these major centres. The produce of the hinterland was not collected solely at the established settlements. Particularly during the first part of the 20th century, the trade was carried directly to the hinterland, through the medium of permanent posts as well as individual transient buyers. The location of these permanent posts tells us much about the distribution and movements of native peoples as well as the character and *modus operandi* of the fur trade itself. Between 1870 and 1970, no less than 535 trading posts were operated in the N.W.T., at a total of 229 separate locations. It would appear that the fur trade was a strong influence for decentralizing the indigenous population at least until World War Two.

The development of the fur trade within the Northwest Territories has exhibited marked regional variation. An appreciation of these differences is essential in analyzing the pattern of the trade itself as well as the social and economic history of the various northern peoples. Despite the recent decline of the fur economy as the mainstay of northern life, most of the present adult population born in the N.W.T. were raised in the fur trade milieu.

The year 1970 marks a useful point in time for a retrospect of the northern fur trade, not solely because a hundred years have passed since the sale of Rupert's Land. Today, very few of the establishments licenced to purchase furs can be called fur trade posts in the traditional sense. The primary function of most stores is now the retail trade, and the purchase of furs is merely an incidental function. We look back, then, on an institution now passed from the northern scene.

While this volume represents the first comprehensive list of trading posts in the N.W.T., it cannot claim to be the final authority on the matter. Suggestions for amendments, additions or deletions are welcomed. Should sufficient additional information be obtained, a supplementary volume of amendments might be warranted.

Sources

For the first half-century under study, I have relied chiefly on business directories, Royal North West Mounted Police annual reports (containing district and patrol reports), newspapers (particularly the *Edmonton Bulletin*) and manuscript material in various archives.⁵ Some secondary sources have also been useful, such as early accounts of travel and residence in the north, and historical studies of certain regions or of the fur trade as a whole. I am also indebted to the findings of other research projects. Mr. John Wolforth of the University of British Columbia has kindly supplied information on trading posts in the Mackenzie Delta, in advance of the completion of his doctoral thesis on the historical geography of that region.⁶

⁵ Archival and newspaper research was conducted at the following locations: Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa), National Library of Canada (Ottawa), Provincial Archives of Alberta (Edmonton), Provincial Library of Alberta (Edmonton), Archives of the Glenbow-Alberta Foundation (Calgary), Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Athabasca (Peace River).

⁶ To be published as *The Evolution and Economy of the Delta Community*, by the Dept. Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa.

The Geography Division of the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Dept. Energy, Mines and Resources, has also provided information which they had gathered while preparing a map of the chronology of northern settlement for the forthcoming *National Atlas of Canada*. This information, obtained mainly from the Hudson's Bay Company, related to the opening dates of their earlier posts, as well as of some rival posts.

The major sources of information for the last half-century have been the various records maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and its predecessors, on the fur trade since the passage of the *Northwest Game Act* of 1917.⁷ This information has been supplemented by interviews or correspondence with over 40 knowledgeable individuals who are Northerners themselves or who have had long experience and contact with the fur trade. The map collection of the Public Archives of Canada, as well as information on place names and survey monuments from various agencies in the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, have also been of assistance in locating some posts.

After 1959, permit granting authority was transferred to the N.W.T. Government in Fort Smith, and records soon ceased being kept in Ottawa. Information for the last decade has therefore been derived from the Game Management Service records at Fort Smith (latterly at Yellowknife), as well as from contemporary studies and reports on northern regions. Finally, personal familiarity has also been helpful in resolving conflicting or ambiguous information from other sources.

Licencing Systems

The *Northwest Game Act*, which constituted the first attempt to regulate the fur trade and maintain statistics on it, prohibited anyone other than a "native born Indian, Eskimo or half-breed, who is a *bona fide* resident of the Northwest Territories" from engaging in the trading of furs without a trading and trafficking licence. Licences were issued to every individual trading independently or on behalf of a company, and these licences were to be turned in at the end of each season with a declaration of the number and species of furs traded. The system came into effect for the 1918-1919 season, and the record of licence holders from that time on is now held by the Game Management Service of the Northwest Territories.

In 1920, the newly created Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior, setting out to discover what it could of its new domain, requested the various trading companies for the locations of all their fur trade posts. Similar requests were periodically sent out in the following years, so that almost all of the posts operated by the larger companies at least are mentioned in the file correspondence during the early and mid-1920s.

⁷S.C. 1917, c.36.

Further restrictions were implemented by Order-in-Council in 1926⁸ which prohibited the establishment or maintenance of a trading post without the authorization of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. Now, instead of the individual traders being licenced, each establishment required a permit. Every company operating in the N.W.T. was informed of the new regulations, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police advised all resident independent traders in the north. By the fall of 1927, virtually every post had been licensed, and separate correspondence files set up for every applicant, from the Hudson's Bay Company down to resident individual traders with only one establishment. Permits were issued to the owners of the post rather than their operators (although in many cases these were the same) and each post was issued a separate permit stating its location. These permits did not require renewal, and remained valid as long as the post continued to operate. Some of the post permit files are still in the Northern Administration Branch Registry of the Dept. of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, although the majority are now in the Public Archives of Canada (mainly in the RG-22, A-1 group of the Public Records Section).

Comprehensiveness and Reliability of Sources

Information for the first half-century is reasonably complete. Further investigation could be made of local newspapers, and of diaries which may exist in private hands, but this would probably bring minimal rewards for the time and effort involved. I have also not examined the northern records of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, now on microfilm in Ottawa. The recent opening of the Hudson's Bay Company's archival material for the years 1870-1900 offers a potentially rich source of information, but the research for this study had been completed prior to that event. I had hoped to locate the records of some of the larger rival companies, but most appear to be non-existent, and others are presently inaccessible.

The reliability of newspaper reports, business directories and annual reports is somewhat limited, due to inaccuracies as well as, in some cases, insufficient information. Yet these three sources, along with contemporary personal observations in the form of manuscript material or published accounts, have usually provided sufficient means of comparing and cross-checking information.

For the period after about 1920, documentary records are virtually complete, but not always reliable. For example, the Trading and Trafficking Licence records are complete in themselves, but their reliability is limited. There may have been a few individuals who conducted business without them, but more important is the fact that they were issued to individuals rather than to establishments. Although the residence of the applicant is given, there is no indication that he actually traded at that location, or that he maintained a post there. In any case, the place of residence is not always a reliable guide, since in those days especially, a man entering the territories at Fort Smith might be uncertain of his ultimate destination, or be unable to reach it. Nonetheless, these records have been of assistance in cross-checking some of the information on the post permits.

⁸P.C. 1146, 19 July, 1926.

The list of posts extant after 1926 is complete, although there are some errors in detail due to the methods of recording information for the permits. In spite of the loss or destruction of some correspondence files, there is sufficient cross referencing that at least a minimum of information exists on all permits issued. Recorded locations are generally reliable, but local names were sometimes used, and inaccurate coordinates given, especially in the earlier years. If the post was not located in a settlement, a description of its location was given, which usually included reference to a known geographic feature, sometimes the latitude and longitude, and occasionally the distance from survey monuments. It has been possible to deduce the location of almost all posts from this and other information.

Dates of opening and closing have proven particularly difficult to verify. For those posts in operation prior to 1926, the opening date is not always given in the correspondence. After this, the year of issue of a permit was normally coincident with the opening date of the post.⁹ Closing dates, however, have been more difficult to ascertain. Permits were often returned to the government long after the post had actually closed for trade, and the latter date is not always given. In some cases it has been possible to obtain it from R.C.M.P. reports, since each detachment used to submit quarterly or semi-annual reports (of varying accuracy) on trading posts in their district.

There were a number of permits which, although granted, were never used. Sometimes this is clear from the correspondence, or from police reports, but more often than not, the documentary evidence was insufficient on this matter. Permits were not transferrable, and new ones were issued upon changes of ownership. Changes in location ordinarily required a new permit as well although there seem to have been a few occasions when a post was moved without a new permit being issued.

Declarations of furs traded (i.e. from the Trading and Trafficking Returns, Fur Export Tax Returns,¹⁰ and Traders Fur Record Books), have been helpful in ascertaining whether permit holders actually operated their posts, and for what years. More important, however, has been the personal communication with former traders and residents, providing incalculable assistance in filling in the gaps and question marks remaining from the documentary evidence. Needless to say, recollections are not always perfect (although most informants seemed to have remarkably accurate memories) and some conflicting information was obtained. As with the documentary evidence, the resolution of such conflicts has been my responsibility alone. This has been done on the basis of all available information, but there may still be errors in dates, locations, or even the existence of some trading posts.

⁹It should be noted, however, that opening dates given in the sources sometimes refer to the commencement of construction of the buildings, other times to the opening of the post for business. These events did not always occur in the same year. I have generally used the latter as the opening date, for those few cases in which it has been possible to distinguish.

¹⁰It should be noted, however, that the Fur Export Tax Returns, which constitute the most comprehensive and reliable body of statistics on the fur trade, are not always useful in this regard. Many of the smaller independent traders sold their furs to the major companies in the larger settlements, rather than exporting them to auction. In such cases their trade is unrecorded.

“Fur Trade Post” Defined

The term “fur trade post” is unfortunately not so straightforward as it might at first appear. As originally defined in section 22 of the regulations¹¹ pertaining to the *Northwest Game Act*, a post was “an existing trading establishment in continuous operation for a period of 2 years”. This was amended in 1926 to read “any kind of structure, building or tent or any means of conveyance used to contain merchandise for barter or sale, so soon as it is used for such a purpose”.¹² Subsequent stipulations required a trading post to be in operation at least eight months of the year, and an outpost at least three.¹³

From the beginning of free access to the northern fur trade in 1870 there have been several types of traders. Some conducted a regular trade from permanent establishments consisting of a store, warehouse and dwelling. Some were chiefly trappers who maintained permanent camps, and conducted a small volume of trade to supplement their income. On the Arctic Coast, many traders had schooners, which they used as “floating posts”, wintering in a different place each year. In both the Western and Eastern Arctic whalers also engaged in the fur trade, either from their vessels as at Herschel Island, or from shore whaling stations as in Cumberland Sound or Hudson Bay. Finally were the itinerants, (especially in the Mackenzie District), who travelled about in scows or sleds with a few trade goods, only to depart upon completion of their business. The established companies viewed “tripping”, as the last type of trading was called, as a serious threat to their own trade. The regulations of 1929, by stipulating the nature of the buildings and the duration of the trade, put an end to this practice, as well as to the operation of “floating posts”.

This list makes no attempt to cover the activities of itinerant traders, and it includes neither the whaling stations on Baffin and Herschel Island, nor the trading vessels which often acted as “floating posts” in the early days of the Western Arctic trade. Our purpose is to document only the spread of permanent trading establishments as defined in the 1929 regulations, except that no time limit has been placed on their operation. Some of the posts listed herein operated only for a single season. Also not included as true posts are those cases in which an individual operating an hotel or restaurant obtained a trading permit in order to receive payment in furs.

Yet even this limited definition of a trading post covers a wide range of activity. On the one hand, there are the old established Hudson’s Bay posts, with their compounds of dwellings, store and warehouse, and on the other is the lone trapper, far from any settlement, who supplemented his income by casual barter with passing Indians.

¹¹P.C. 1053, 1 May, 1918.

¹²P.C. 1146, *op. cit.*

¹³P.C. 807, 15 May, 1929.

Fur Trade Regions

For convenience, the N.W.T. has been divided into six major regions (Figure 1) on the basis of such factors as the nature of the fur resource, tribal or area grouping of native peoples, the location of traditional trapping grounds, the trading hinterlands of the major centres, the patterns of transport, and the organization of the trade itself. These regions have been further subdivided on a similar basis. Some of the boundaries are perforce arbitrary, such as that between the Eastern and Western Arctic districts, and the regionalization presented here is by no means the only appropriate one. The Yukon coast has been included because it was an integral part of the Western Arctic fur trade region. We have not, on the other hand, excluded Port Burwell, Mansel Island, Cape Smith and the Belchers which were more a part of the Labrador-Ungava trade than of the Northwest Territories.

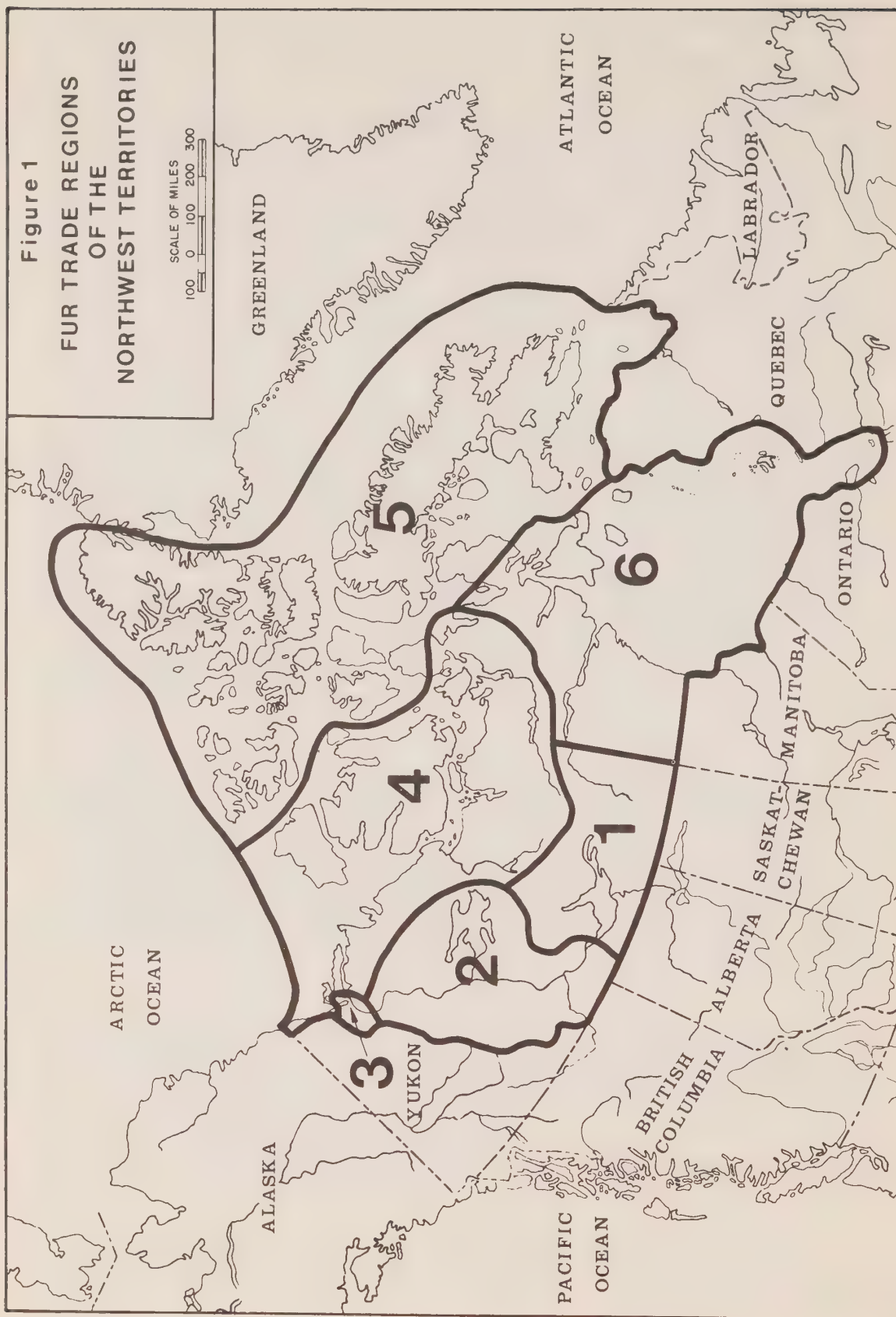
Ownership of Fur Trade Posts

Five categories of trading posts may be distinguished on the basis of ownership: large trading companies, financed and directed from outside the N.W.T., locally based free or independent traders, native traders, cooperatives and government posts, and religious missions. Further discussion of these categories is provided in the introduction to Part Two. Of the several major firms which have operated in the North since 1870, the largest and most successful has been the Hudson's Bay Company. It is also the only surviving firm. Other important companies have included Hislop and Nagle, the Northern Trading Company (subsequently reorganized as Northern Traders Limited), the Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company, the Canalska Trading Company, and Revillon Frères Ltd. All were founded in the late 19th or early 20th Century, and all were liquidated by 1939, most having sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company.

The free or independent traders were the white traders and trappers who entered the country chiefly during the 1920s and '30s. These men sought to make an independent livelihood in the North, on the basis of their own trapping efforts supplemented by trade with native trappers. Many had small schooners or scows for local travel, but their access to outside establishments was usually through the larger companies, which outfitted them annually at the major trading centres. A few fared well enough to operate several posts simultaneously but most had only one establishment in any particular season.

There were a few native traders, who also tended to act as middle men for the larger companies. I include in this category both Indian and Eskimo traders as well as those with mixed blood who were raised in the North. The classification of free traders is therefore restricted to those who came into the country as adults; their sons are classified as native traders. The role of native traders, which was never great, has declined in recent years along with the trade itself, since there was never any serious attempt on the part of any agency to encourage them.

Cooperative stores, on the other hand, are a recent phenomenon and have been fostered by the Government. Although many are simply producer coops, some do trade for furs.



Finally, there were the mission posts, the great majority of which were operated by the Roman Catholic Church. Their trade does not seem to have been conducted primarily as a commercial enterprise, but rather to facilitate the transfer of monies. Most were closed by the early 1940s, probably due to the changing nature of the economy and perhaps also because of the proclamation in 1938 of an Order-in-Council which allowed religious organizations to accept furs as contributions without holding permits under the Game Act.¹⁴ A few mission posts were maintained after that date in areas where there were no other trading services, for only by such means could the missions ensure the economic viability of their flock at these locations. Except for a few posts in the latter category, it has been almost impossible to determine the volume and duration of trade on the part of each mission. At the larger settlements, their trade was generally not of commercial significance. Hence only those mission posts of special local importance are included in the list of posts by location.

Listing and Coding of Entries

This list is divided into two parts. In Part One, the posts are listed by location, and in Part Two, by ownership. The first list provides comprehensive information; the second is abbreviated, based on the coding and data provided in Part One. Part One is divided into six sections, based on the six fur trade regions. Each section contains, in order, a brief outline of the development of the fur trade in the region, a map of post locations, a list of post locations, the list of individual posts, and a bibliography.

Each location and post has been assigned a code number. The location code consists of a number and letter, referring to the subregion in which the post is located (i.e. 2D, which indicates Great Bear Lake), followed by one or two digits referring to the specified location within the subregion. The code numbers for the posts include the location code, followed by a dash and another number. The posts are listed under each location chronologically by date of establishment.

Post locations are shown on the accompanying maps. In the text, coordinates are given for all locations except currently inhabited settlements, and verbal description is given where applicable. Posts outside the settlements are grouped together under a single place name if they are within a mile or so of each other, or are on opposite banks of a river. Where the exact location is the same for all posts given under one place name, the description of this location is given under the place name. Otherwise it is given in the individual post entries. Where the general location is known, but the exact site is not, the notation "exact location unknown" is used. Usually this means that the location is known to within a few miles or less. In a few cases, the geographic name given on the permit is unknown and untraceable, or the feature referred to is large and no specific location is given. Here the notation "approximate location unknown" is used.

The top line of each post entry includes the code number, the name of the owner, the dates of opening and closing, and the ownership code. Below this are remarks and further information, and finally the sources of information are given.

¹⁴P.C. 423, 1 March, 1938.

An opening and closing date followed by a question mark indicates that the date is uncertain and may be one or two years off. If the date could be several years in error, it is also preceded by the abbreviation for circa. Ownership codes are as follows:

HBC	Hudson's Bay Co.
H&N	Hislop and Nagle
NT	Northern Trading Co./Northern Traders Ltd.
L&H	Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Co.
CTC	Canalaska Trading Co.
RF	Revillon Frères Ltd.
OC	Other externally financed and directed companies.
Ind.	Locally based independent traders.
Nat.	Native owned.
Govt.	Government stores.
Coop.	Cooperative stores.
M	Mission posts.

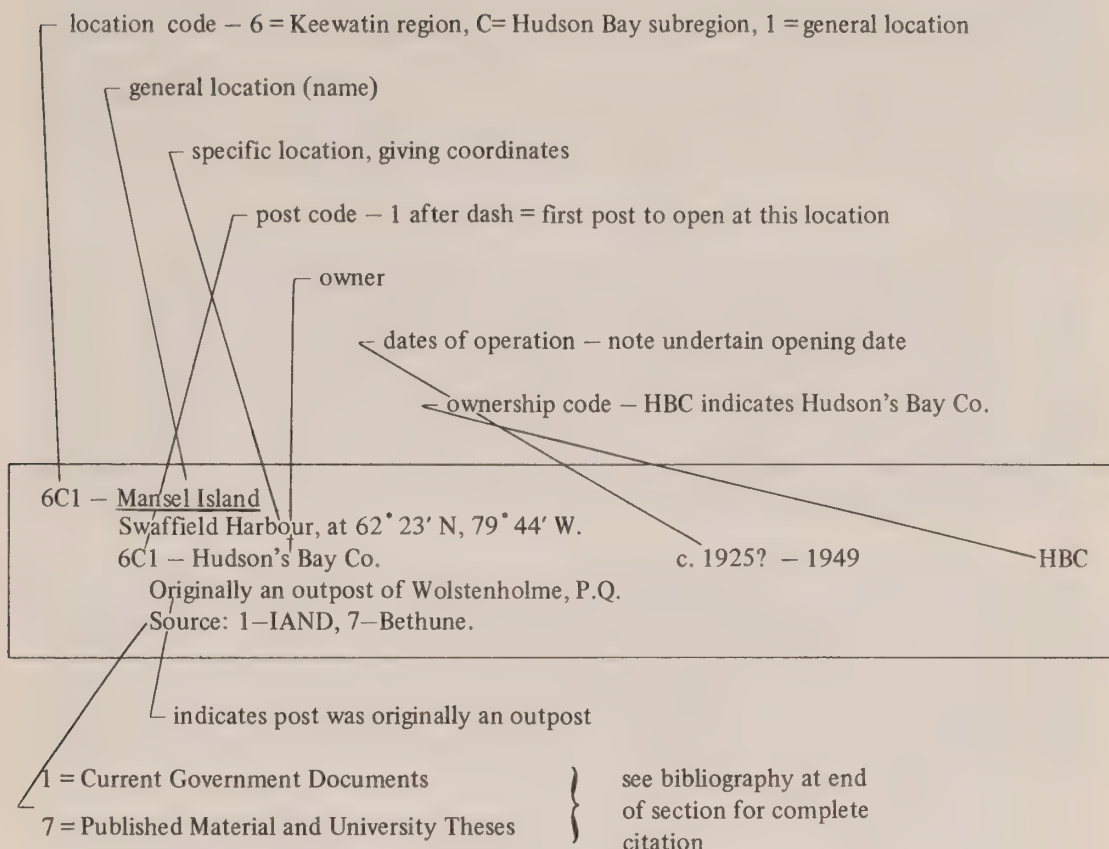
Information on outpost status, purchase and sale, transfer of location and other pertinent data are provided below the top line of each entry. Sources are indicated by a number as belonging to one of nine categories, followed by a dash and a name or abbreviation. The categories of sources are as follows:

- 1 – Current government documents.
- 2 – Archival material.
- 3 – Annual reports and directories.
- 4 – Personal communication (written).
- 5 – Personal communication (oral).
- 6 – Other private research.
- 7 – Published material and university theses.
- 8 – Maps.
- 9 – Newspapers.

Abbreviations and names of sources can be identified from the bibliographies at the end of each of the six fur trade regions.

Separate entries have been made for posts which changed locations or ownership. Thus, the Hudson's Bay Company's Frobisher Bay post, for example, which was moved three times since its establishment in 1914, is listed as four separate posts. Similarly, a post such as that operated in turn by Conibear, Stewart and Bender in Fort Smith between 1918 and 1961 is treated as three separate posts, although the building itself may have been the same one throughout. In each case the individual entries are cross-referenced accordingly.

SAMPLE ENTRY



The Fur Trade in the Northwest Territories: 1870-1970

A hundred years ago there were nine trading posts in the entire area of what is presently the Northwest Territories, all in the Mackenzie Valley. From the 1780s to 1821, the extension of the fur trade to the Mackenzie Valley was characterized by inter-company rivalry and strife. During the next few decades, the Hudson's Bay Company, enjoying monopoly control, adjusted its trading patterns to the nature of the countryside and the people, and by 1850 the location and distribution of its main forts in the valley proved permanently set.¹⁵

Despite the cession of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company retained an effective monopoly below Fort Chipewyan for perhaps another 15 to 20 years, due to the relative isolation of the region. By 1890, however, the construction of the railroad to Edmonton, and the introduction of steam boats on the Athabaska and Mackenzie Rivers had provided much easier access to the entire Mackenzie Basin.

¹⁵ J.K. Stager. "Fur Trading Posts in the Mackenzie Region up to 1850", Canadian Association of Geographers, B.C. Division, *Occasional Papers in Geography*, 3, 1962, pp. 37-46.

During the 1880s there were a number of "free traders" in the Lac La Biche, Lesser Slave Lake and Peace River districts of Alberta, but few had reached Great Slave Lake before the 1890s. Those who had were itinerants who made occasional forays through or to the region, buying a few furs *en route*, but certainly they did not build permanent establishments as we have defined them. Some traders even made annual fur buying excursions at least as far as Fort Resolution, either on their own or as representatives of larger firms such as MacDougall and Secord of Edmonton.

The first reasonably definite record of permanent establishments in competition to the Hudson's Bay Company north of the 60th parallel occurs in 1887. In that year, independent posts were apparently established at Old Fort Rae, Fort Providence, and Fort Good Hope. The earliest sustained competition appears to have been provided by Hislop and Nagle, of Edmonton, who opened a post at Fort Resolution about 1894, and another at Old Fort Rae shortly after. By about 1901 this firm had a chain of posts between Fort Smith and Fort McPherson, serviced by their own transportation system.

The first major influx of independent entrepreneurs came with the discovery of gold in the Yukon. According to the *Edmonton Bulletin*, of the 269 men who left for the Klondike from Edmonton in 1897, 130 took the Mackenzie River Route.¹⁶ Some of the traders who established at Fort Resolution and Fort Providence around this time may have been gold seekers themselves who saw in the fur trade an alternative source of wealth, others may simply have sought to take advantage of the increased traffic through the region.

Despite this increase in competition, permanent posts generally continued to be located at the major fur trade "Forts" established by the Hudson's Bay Company during the 19th century, although the sites of both Rae and Wrigley were relocated on the initiative of Hislop and Nagle. Indian trappers made periodic visits to these main centres, and the major companies sometimes sent out "runners" to buy fur at the various camps. Fur buyers from Edmonton and elsewhere continued to come north each summer. Such was the pattern of trade for 25 years after the Klondike rush.

During and after World War One, fur prices rose sharply. This provided an incentive for whites already in the north to turn to independent trapping and trading, as well as encouraging men from southern Canada (often recent immigrants) and even the United States to come north to the fur districts. There were already 140 licenced white trappers in the N.W.T. in 1921-22. This rose to 500 by 1926-27, and stayed at or above that figure until World War Two.¹⁷ The great majority entered the N.W.T. by the Mackenzie system. Of these, some went directly to destinations such as Great Slave Lake, Fort Good Hope or the Mackenzie Delta, and remained there throughout their careers. Others, however, began trapping and trading around Great Slave Lake, and through the years moved to different locales down the Mackenzie, even reaching as far as Coronation Gulf on the Arctic Coast.

¹⁶ J.G. MacGregor, *Edmonton Trader*. Toronto, 1963, p. 227.

¹⁷ Zaslow, 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

The Mackenzie route, although the oldest and most commonly used, was not the only means of access to the fur trade of the N.W.T. The Eastern Arctic and Hudson Bay could be reached by Davis and Hudson Straits, and the Western Arctic by the Bering Sea Route. In these regions lived the Eskimos. Most, unlike the Indians of the Mackenzie Valley, were oriented to the harvesting of marine resources, and lived mainly on the coasts rather than inland.

Indeed, the earliest exploitation of the region by outsiders was likewise based on marine resources, for the British were whaling in Davis Strait from the early 1800s, and during the latter part of the century there were American whaling fleets in Hudson Bay and the Beaufort Sea. From the beginning, the whalers obtained fur on these voyages, but this was not their primary purpose, and even the shore-based whaling stations cannot really be considered fur trade posts. The whaling captains in both the Eastern and Western Arctic began to show greater interest in the fur trade as a profitable enterprise in its own right during the first decade of the 20th century. This development was hastened by the decline in whale bone prices after 1906.

A parallel interest in the Arctic fur trade (based on the arctic fox) arose on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. For 240 years, the company had sent ships annually through Hudson Strait, but had never exploited its shores. In 1909, however, a post was established at Wolstenholme, P.Q., and within 15 years the distribution of trading posts and indeed the course of future settlement was virtually set for the entire Eastern Arctic. Similarly, in the west, the fur trade frontier was extended from Herschel Island in 1915 eastward to King William Island by 1923, a distance of over 600 miles in less than a decade. The character of the N.W.T. fur trade after about 1920 thus differs markedly from the previous half century, since it was much more extensive and much more competitive.

The Hudson's Bay Company usually initiated expansion into new territory during the 20th century, but nowhere did it enjoy a monopoly. There were several rival companies; none operating over the entire north, and none with the same financial resources and diversified interests, but all cut sharply into "The Bay's" trade during the interwar years from 1918 to 1939. In the Mackenzie Valley there was the Northern Trading Company (successors to Hislop and Nagle), and the Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company; on the Western Arctic coast the Canalska Trading Company and in the Keewatin, Revillon Frères Limited. On Baffin Island, a few smaller companies such as Kinnes, the Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate, and the Sabellum Company all competed for the trade. All these companies had their own independent transport systems, operating seagoing vessels from Britain, Montreal or San Francisco, or river steamers along the Mackenzie.

Competition also came from the many independent traders and trappers, as mentioned, but their activities were restricted to the Mackenzie District and the southern Keewatin. This was due partly to the high cost or even impossibility of obtaining passage by sea, but also to the creation of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve in the 1920s, within which trapping and hunting rights were restricted to indigenous peoples.

The initially unrestricted access to the fur resource, especially in the Mackenzie, resulted in greatly increased competition amongst both white and native trappers. Existing trapping areas were more heavily utilized, and new ones were opened up. Certainly many white trappers established themselves far away from the major fur trade posts. High prices made the fur trade increasingly lucrative and competition between traders became very keen. Given these conditions of a dispersed trapper population, high fur prices, and a high degree of competition, traders could no longer afford to wait for the trappers to bring their produce to them. The practice of “tripping”, whereby fur was purchased directly from the trapping camps by runners or itinerants, became widespread. Although both the large companies and the free traders engaged in it, it was chiefly to the advantage of the latter, since minimal capitalization was required. The companies, with their large fixed investment in buildings and transport facilities, could fare no better than an itinerant trader with a sledge load of trade goods. Partly due to pressure from the Hudson’s Bay Company, the practice was outlawed, and as previously described, trade could be conducted only from fixed locations.

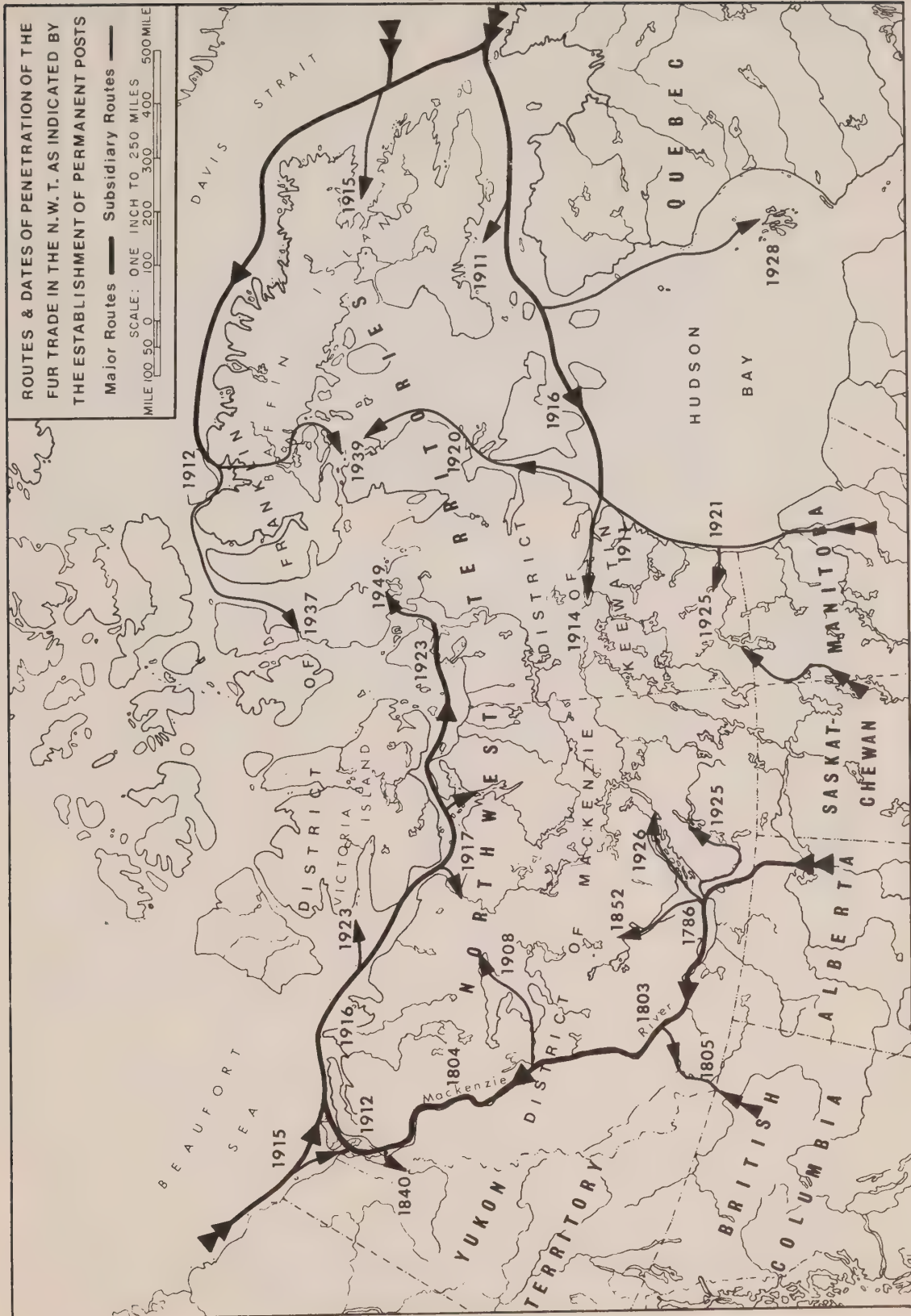
Thus followed a major expansion of permanent posts into the hinterland areas, which culminated in the late 1920s, although some isolated districts in the Central and High Arctic were not opened until later (Figure 2 indicates the routes and timing of the penetration of the fur trade). Both the companies and the independents rapidly established posts or outposts near winter encampments or along major travel routes from the hunting and trapping grounds to the forts, hoping to intercept the trade.¹⁸ Indeed, the locational factors in the fur trade became not unlike those in gasoline retailing, and as in that business, the independents, although in competition with the large companies, also depended on them. Many did not export their fur directly, but traded them to the larger companies in the main centres, and resupplied through these companies as well. Very often, company outposts were run not by company employees, but by independents, perhaps even using their already existing establishments, on informal arrangement.

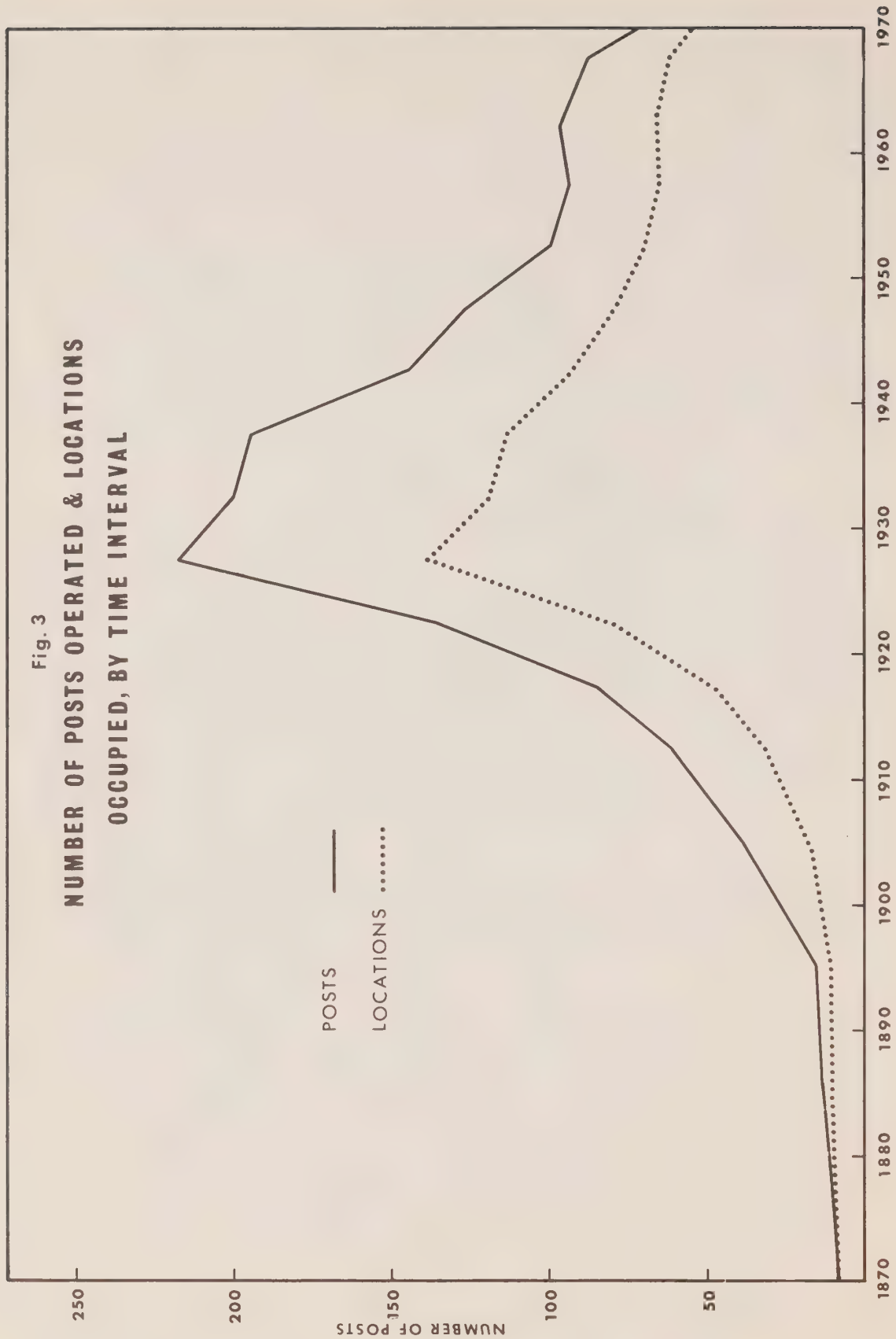
Between the years 1925 and 1929, there were 217 trading posts in operation at 139 locations in the Northwest Territories. These years climaxed the trend toward the dispersal of the trade as well, with only 1.56 posts per location compared with 1.91 between 1910 and 1914 (see Figure 3).

With the depression and declining fur prices however, came a contraction and decline in the fur trade. The Hudson’s Bay Company closed many of its outposts, especially in the Mackenzie Valley, in 1930, and its major competitors did not long delay in rationalizing their trading operations as well. During the late 1930s, the Northern Trading Company, the Canalska Company and Revillon Frères all went out of business, selling their assets to the Hudson’s Bay Company, and leaving that firm in a monopoly position virtually everywhere but in the Mackenzie Valley and Coronation Gulf. The number of posts operating in all districts but the Mackenzie River and Mackenzie Delta declined after 1930. Those two districts however,

¹⁸With regard to specific sites, however, transport was the primary consideration. Virtually every post in the Mackenzie lay on navigable waterways, while in the Arctic, most were located in small protected harbours.

Figure 2





continued to receive independent trappers and traders, many of whom found that trapping and trading, even in their depressed state, provided a better livelihood than one could obtain "outside". There was however a tendency toward the centralization of posts in the established centres, as indicated by a rise in the number of posts per location to 1.72. Most new establishments in the late 1930s were in the larger centres such as Fort Norman and Aklavik. Many of these were erected not by newcomers but by resident traders shifting their operations from the hinterland to the settlements.

Increasing shortages of fur and game in some districts led to further government restrictions on hunting and trapping. In 1938, licences were restricted to native Indians and Eskimos, and those whites already in possession of valid permits. No longer could men come North in hopes of making their living off the land. This brought a gradual but inevitable end to the era of the white trapper in the north, and to a lesser extent to the independent trader as well, since these occupations were so often complimentary. The outbreak of war hastened the decline of the white trapping and trading community, as many left to enlist in the armed forces. By the early 1950s there were only half as many posts as fifteen years before; the decline being largely due to the folding of the larger companies and the departure of the independents.

Since the mid 1950s, the fur trade has declined, particularly in its importance in the northern economy as a whole. The extension of educational and medical facilities in the north, and the growing opportunities for wage labour, have resulted in a major shift to settlement life. The old pattern of a scattered population dependent on faunal resources has almost completely given way, despite a brief upturn in the fur trade around 1960. The Hudson's Bay Company, now the sole outlet for trade in most settlements, has closed many of its posts during the last decade. This has been due in part to the actual abandonment of some of these locations by their inhabitants, but also to changing policies on the part of the company. Most stores have become retail outlets similar to those in any small town in southern Canada, and seldom is the fur trade an important part of their business. Under such circumstances, isolated posts catering to small, semi-nomadic bands, with a very low volume and turnover of merchandise, cannot possibly be profitable, and it would appear that the company now demands each store to show a profit, rather than sustain the losses of one on the profits of the district as a whole. Pricing and credit policies appear to have changed accordingly.

Today there are 69 trading posts in the Northwest Territories, at 54 locations (see Appendix 1). Their distribution and ownership are indicated in Table 10. Forty-two locations are served by only one store, nine by two stores, and three by three stores. There is now less competition in terms of the number of posts per location than at any time since the 1890s. Of the 14 places not served by the Hudson's Bay Company, six are served by independent traders (usually as outposts or branches of their main stores in larger settlements), two by native residents, and six by co-operatives. All 14 locations are presently amongst the smaller settlements in the Northwest Territories, and there is only one trade outlet in each.

The remaining independent establishments (a mere 15 of the 260 operated during the century) are located in the Mackenzie Valley between Fort Smith and Aklavik. Almost invariably their owners have specialized in the "bush trade", outfitting local trappers, extending them credit and buying their furs, while "the Bay" has emphasized the retail trade, often relying on the growing "outsider" population for the bulk of it. Where both types of stores are located in the same settlement, the trade and clientele of each reflect the growing ethnic and class differences in the Mackenzie District. In the Eastern Arctic, the Hudson's Bay Company is without competition, although a number of co-operative stores, all established during the last 10 years, provide alternative outlets for furs.

Figure 4 compares the growth and decline in the number of trading posts in each of the six regions, while Figure 5 provides a schematic representation of the development of the trade by region. More detailed comments on each region are given at the beginning of each section in Part One. Tables 1 to 3 cross classify the trading posts by time period, region and ownership.

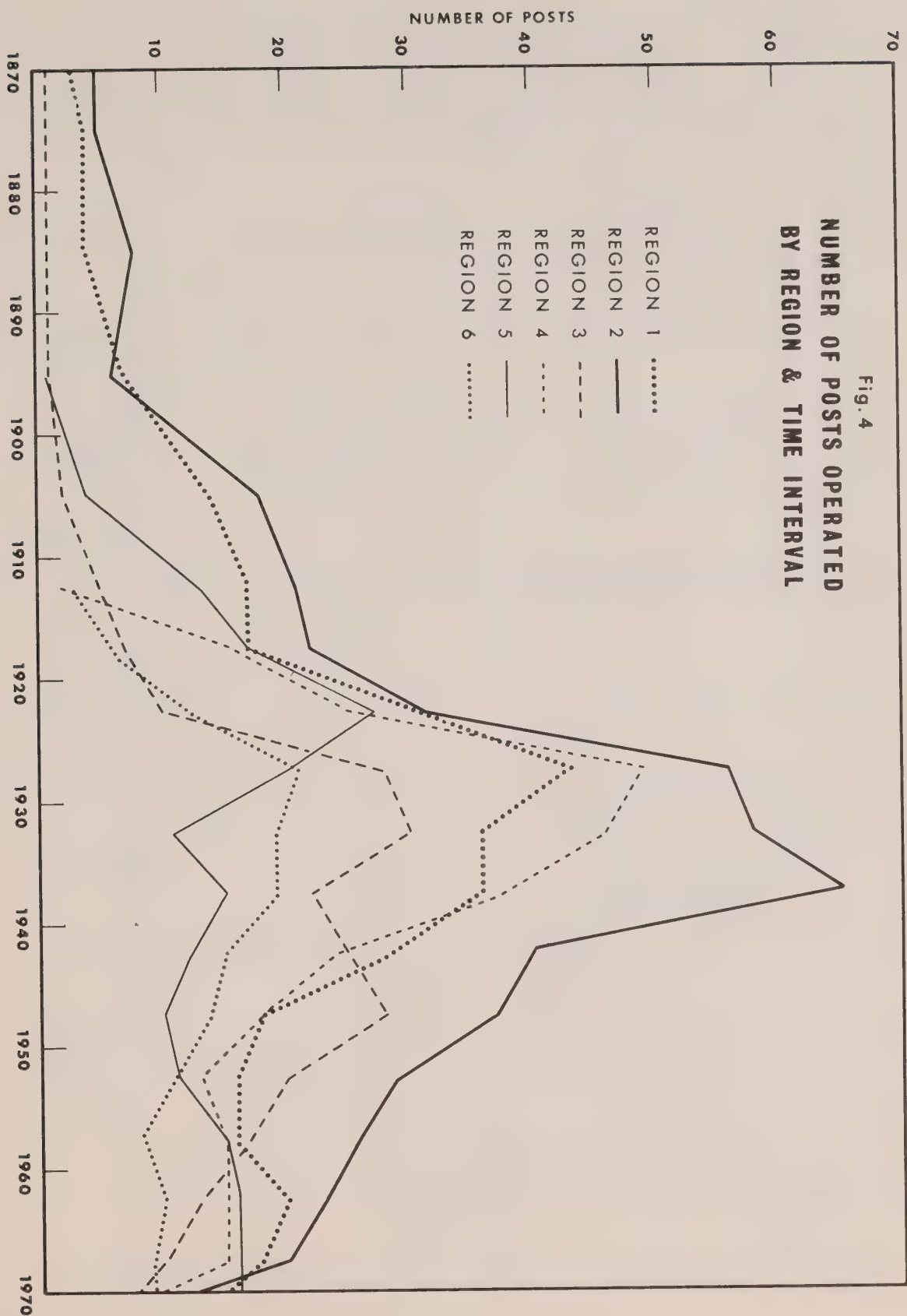


Figure 5
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUR TRADE
BY REGION

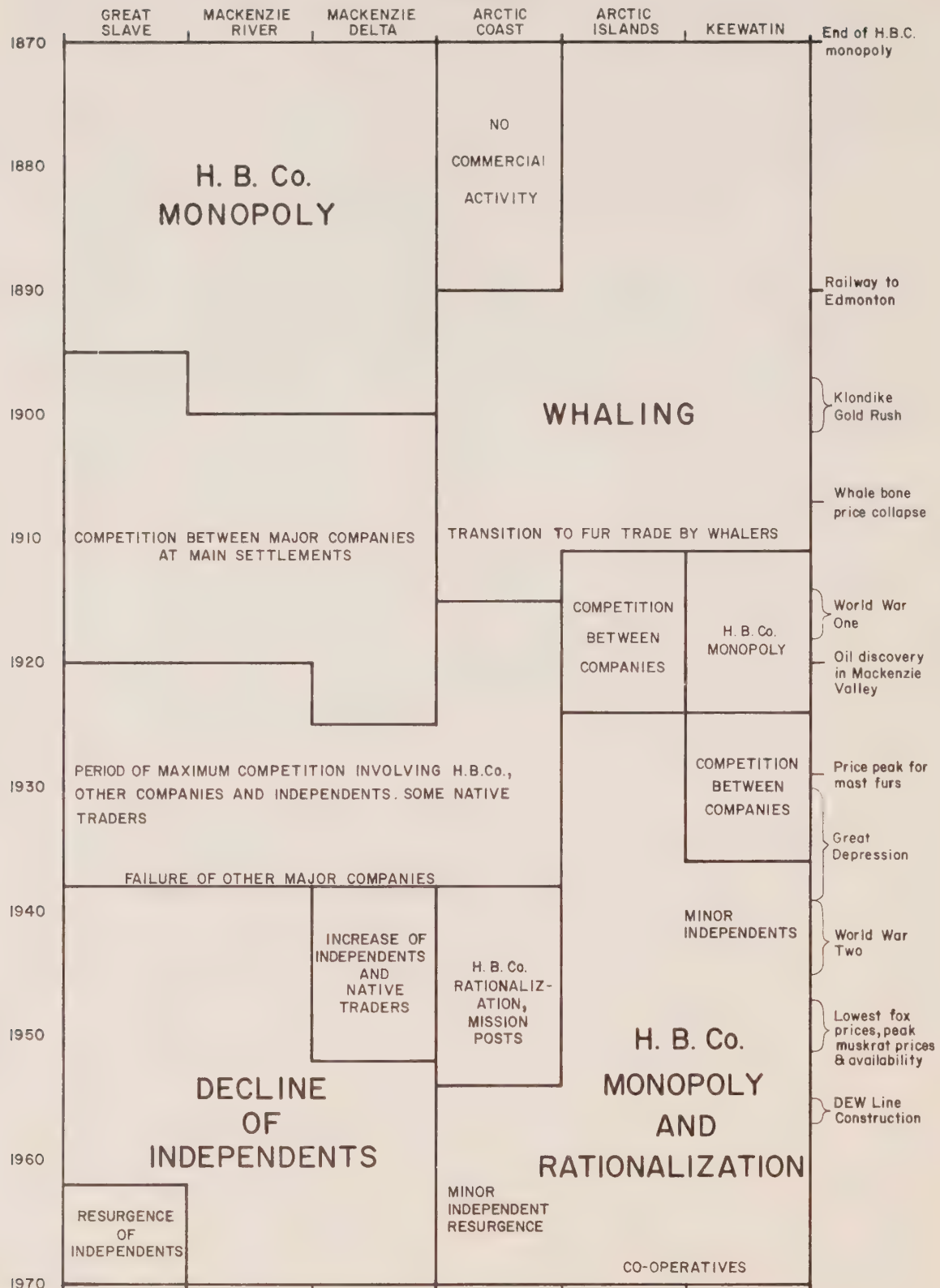


TABLE 1 — Dates of Operation of Posts and
Occupancy of Locations by Region

	Great Slave Lake		Mackenzie River		Mackenzie Delta		Arctic Coast		Eastern Arctic		Keewatin		TOTAL		Number of posts per location
	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	Posts	Locations	
before 1870	3	3	5	5	1	1							9	9	1.00
1870-79	4	4	5	5	1	1							10	10	1.00
1880-89	4	3	8	6	1	1							13	10	1.30
1890-99	7	3	6	6	1	1			1	1			15	11	1.36
1900-09	14	5	18	10	2	1			2	2			38	18	2.11
1910-14	17	4	21	9	5	2			13	12	3		61	32	1.91
1915-19	17	4	22	8	7	2			17	15	6		85	48	1.77
1920-24	30	10	31	14	10	2			27	23	12		135	80	1.69
1925-29	43	22	56	27	28	14			20	20	21		217	139	1.56
1930-34	36	19	58	28	30	15			11	11	19		200	118	1.69
1935-39	36	16	65	31	22	12			15	14	19		195	113	1.73
1940-44	28	13	40	23	25	11			12	11	15		144	92	1.55
1945-49	18	8	37	19	28	14			12	10	14		127	79	1.61
1950-54	16	7	29	18	20	10			10	10	11		99	69	1.43
1955-59	16	7	26	16	17	9			11	11	8		93	65	1.43
1960-64	20	10	23	15	13	6			15	12	10		96	66	1.45
1965-69	18	11	20	14	10	4			16	13	9		88	62	1.42
1970	15	10	13	11	8	3			16	13	9		71	55	1.29
present	15	10	12	11	8	3			16	13	9		69	54	1.28

**TABLE 2 — Dates of Operation
of Posts by Ownership**

	HBC	H&N	NTC	L&H	CTC	RF	OC	Ind.	Nat.	Govt.	Coop.	M	TOTAL
before 1870	9												9
1870–79	10												10
1880–89	10							3					13
1890–99	10	2						3					15
1900–09	14	13					2	8				1	38
1910–14	19	9	12				10	9	1			1	61
1915–19	27		17	8			16	14	2			1	85
1920–24	52		19	14		2	14	31	2			1	135
1925–29	87		26		5	4	6	76	12			1	217
1930–34	70		24		6	5		82	12			1	200
1935–39	66		15		6	4	1	96	6			1	195
1940–44	52						1	79	9			3	144
1945–49	47						1	67	8			4	127
1950–54	44							45	6	2		2	99
1955–59	46							39	4	3		1	93
1960–64	49							37	1	2	6	1	96
1965–69	47							26	2		12	1	88
1970	41							16	2		12		71
present	40							15	2		12		69

TABLE 3 — Ownership of Posts by Region

	Great Slave Lake	Mackenzie River	Mackenzie Delta	Arctic Coast	Eastern Arctic	Keewatin	TOTAL
HBC	16	23	9	40	26	19	133
NTC	9	14	5	3	0	0	31
H&N	5	7	1	0	0	0	13
L&H	4	6	2	0	0	2	14
CTC	0	0	0	9	0	0	9
RF	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
OC	1	1	2	2	15	1	22
Ind.	65	96	54	34	4	7	260
Nat.	0	4	10	12	0	0	26
Govt.	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Coop.	1	0	1	2	6	2	12
M	0	0	0	5	2	0	7
TOTAL	101	151	84	107	56	36	535

PART ONE
LIST OF FUR TRADE POSTS
BY LOCATION

REGION ONE
GREAT SLAVE LAKE

THE GREAT SLAVE LAKE REGION

For over twenty years after 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed an effective monopoly in the Great Slave Lake Region. The long established Fort Resolution was the leading post, but the company also collected furs at Old Fort Rae, Fort Smith, and briefly at Hay River. Although there was at least one independent post operating in the region before 1890, effective competition did not occur until about 1895. The chain of Hislop and Nagle had established at Fort Resolution by that date, and at Old Fort Rae shortly after. More and more itinerants were penetrating the region at this time, seeking musk-ox robes as well as fine furs, and the Klondike Gold rush, beginning in 1897, brought many more men into the region.

Fort Resolution continued to be a chief trading centre. According to Richardson,¹ who travelled with the Treaty Party in 1902, there were by then six trading posts there. In addition to the Hudson's Bay Company were Hislop and Nagle, Connor & Co., and Swiggart & Co., with outfits valued at \$60,000, \$45,000 and \$80,000 respectively (the other two companies were not named and do not appear in this list). Fort Smith, Hay River and Rae also developed as major centres.

By 1920 there were 14 trading establishments within the region, but still all at these four locations, and the trade thus continued to be centralized. The great influx of independent traders in the 1920s and '30s radically changed this pattern, and by 1930, 24 sites had been used. The chief areas which the white trappers and traders made use of were the Slave River, the Taltson River, and the east arm of Great Slave Lake. In the latter case, the chief resource sought was the arctic fox, on the Barrens north and east of Reliance, but in the others mink, muskrat and coloured fox were the most important species.

Most of the outlying enterprises proved shortlived. The prolonged depression of the 1930s caused the failure of all the major companies but the Hudson's Bay Company, and many of the independents left the country or took up other opportunities such as prospecting. The production of gold at Yellowknife initiated a shift away from fur as the main resource of the region, and this trend has continued. By 1945, all of the recently established sites had been abandoned except Rocher River, Snowdrift and Reliance, where there are still trading posts today, and Yellowknife, which had arisen independently as a mining centre. There was an almost steady decline in the number of trading posts to 1960, although during the last decade a few traders have established outposts in some of the outlying communities, which show increasing signs of permanence and have become easily accessible by air. There are now fewer posts in the Great Slave region than there were before 1920, although they are located at ten different sites. Competition is now minimal, even where a Hudson's Bay Store and an independent trader are located in the same settlement, since nowadays they cater to different interests.

¹ Hugh Richardson. "Diary of a Trip with the Annuity Party. Treaty No. 8, Athabasca District, 25 April, 1902 – Sept. 1, 1902." M.G. 30, C8. Manuscript Division, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

FIG. 6

GREAT SLAVE LAKE REGION
LOCATION MAP

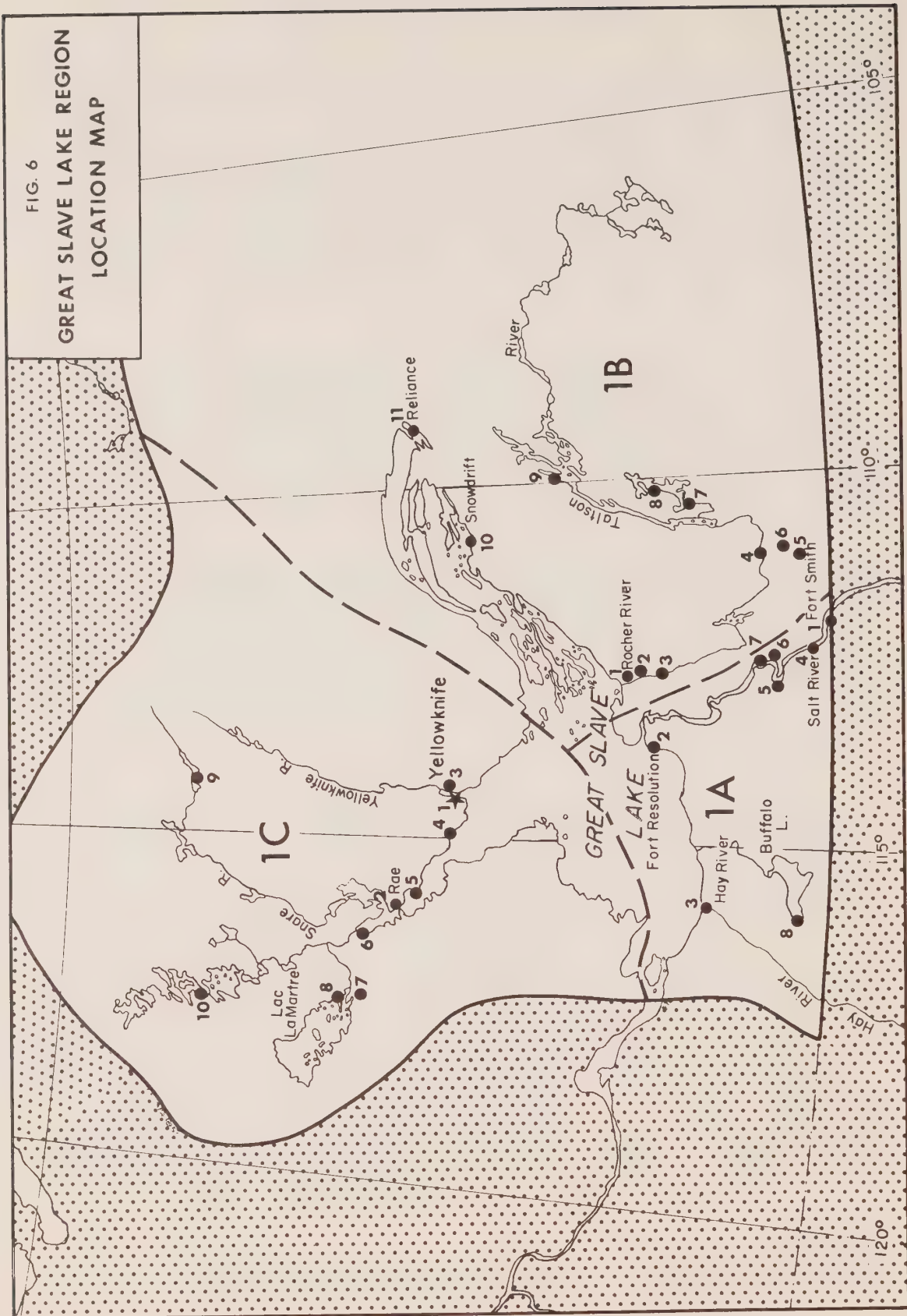


TABLE 4 — Trading Sites in the Great Slave Lake Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 1A: SLAVE RIVER — SOUTH SHORE		45
1A1 — Fort Smith	1874 — present	14
1A2 — Fort Resolution	1819 — present	11
1A3 — Hay River	1868 — — — present	11
1A4 — Salt River	1924 — 1937	3
1A5 — Greand Detour, Slave River	1927 — 1929	1
1A6 — Slave River below Grand Detour	1927 — — — 1935	2
1A7 — Slave River abouve Brulé Pt.	1927 — 1932	1
1A8 — Buffalo Lake	1927? — 1932?	2
SUBREGION 1B: TALTSON RIVER — EAST ARM		27
1B1 — Rocher River	1921? — present	5
1B2 — Snuff Channel, Taltson River	1928? — 1936	1
1B3 — Rat River	1928 — c. 1945?	4
1B4 — Taltson River, Napie Falls	1933 — 1940	1
1B5 — Hanging Ice Lake	1925 — 1927	1
1B6 — Star Lake	1925 — 1927	1
1B7 — Thekulthili Lake, south end	1924 — 1942	3
1B8 — Thekulthili Lake, Burnt Island	1927 — 1942	2
1B9 — Nonacho Lake	1927 — 1928	1
1B10 — Snowdrift	1926 — present	4
1B11 — Reliance	1926 — — — present	4
SUBREGION 1C: NORTH ARM		29
1C1 — Yellowknife	1937 — present	7
1C2 — Rae	1902 — present	10
1C3 — Yellowknife River	1921? — 1928	2
1C4 — Trout Rock	1922 — 1927	1
1C5 — Old Fort Rae	1852 — 1906	3
1C6 — Marian Lake	1928 — 1932?	1
1C7 — Mud Lake	1924? — 1943	1
1C8 — Lac la Martre	1963 — present	2
1C9 — Snare Lake	1963 — 1967	1
1C10 — Rae Lake	1966 — present	1
Total fur trade posts in region		101

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 1A: SLAVE RIVER – SOUTH SHORE

1A1 – Fort Smith

1A1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 6–HBC (EMR).</i>	1874 – present	HBC
1A1-2	Hislop & Nagle Not known if this post in operation throughout. Hislop & Nagle used Fort Smith chiefly as a transport office. Possibly sold to NTC, 1A1-4 <i>Source: 3–Henderson's, RCMP, 9–Ed. Bull.</i>	c. 1900? – 1911	H&N
1A1-3	Hurssell, Joseph and Ben Listed as trading for McDougall and Secord of Edmonton in 1900. <i>Source: 2–Constantine, 3–Henderson's, RCMP.</i>	c. 1900? – 1912?	Ind.
1A1-4	Northern Traders Ltd. Possibly purchased from H&N, 1A1-2. Sold to HBC, 1A1-1. <i>Source: 2–PAC-5686, Dawson, 9–Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT
1A1-5	Conibear, A.M. Sold to Stewart, 1A1-12. <i>Source: 1–IAND, T&T, 3–Henderson's, 5–Mandeville.</i>	1918 – 1944	Ind.
1A1-6	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 1A1-1. <i>Source: 2–PAC-35, 7–Innis.</i>	1919? – 1924	L&H
1A1-7	Baker, Peter <i>Source: 1–IAND, 4–Baker.</i>	1921 – 1922	Ind.
1A1-8	Morie, J.A. Latterly operated by F. Morie. <i>Source: 1–IAND, 2–PAC-5675, 6975, 3–Henderson's, 5–Mandeville.</i>	1921 – 1938	Ind.
1A1-9	York & Lyall Sold to Cooke, 1A1-10. <i>Source: 1–IAND, T&T, 4–Baker, 5–Mandeville.</i>	1924 – 1932	Ind.
1A1-10	Cooke, W.F. Purchased from York & Lyall, 1A1-9. Sold to J. Brodie, 1A1-11. <i>Source: 1–T&T, 2–PAC-7151, 4–Baker, 5–Mandeville.</i>	1932 – 1940	Ind.

1A1-11	Brodie, James Purchased from Mrs. B.S. Cooke, 1A1-10. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-8769, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1940 – 1944?	Ind.
1A1-12	Stewart, James S. Purchased from Mrs. A.M. Conibear, 1A1-5. Sold to M. Bender, 1A1-13. <i>Source: 1-IAND</i>	1944 – 1948	Ind.
1A1-13	Bender, M. Purchased from Stewart, 1A1-12. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1948 – 1961	Ind.
1A1-14	Kaeser, Paul <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1948 – present	Ind.
1A2 – Fort Resolution			
1A2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Present location dates from 1819 although Fort Resolution was originally established nearby in 1786. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Smythe.</i>	1819 – present	HBC
1A2-2	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 1A2-6. <i>Source: 2-Richardson, 3-Henderson's, RCMP, 7-Inman, Russell, Whitney, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1894? – 1912	H&N
1A2-3	Connor, W.H. (Connor & Co.) <i>Source: 2-Richardson, St. Peter's, Brown.</i>	c. 1899? – 1904?	Ind.
1A2-4	Swiggart, G.M. (Swiggart & Co.) <i>Source: 2-Richardson, Dawson, St. Peter's, 3-Henderson's, RCMP.</i>	c. 1899? – 1919?	Ind.
1A2-5	Strauss, L.S. In the care of W.R. Norn after 1912. Site subsequently occupied by Lamson and Hubbard Co. <i>Source: 2-PAC-50, 3-Henderson's.</i>	1911? – 1915?	Ind.
1A2-6	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 1A2-2. Sold to HBC, 1A2-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5686, 3-Henderson's, RCMP, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT

1A2-7	Loutit, Alex Operated on behalf of Fairweathers Ltd. (Winnipeg) 1915-1922. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-32, 5660, 3-Wrigley's, RCMP, 4-Baker, 5-Mandeville.	1914? – 1938	Ind.
1A2-8	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 1A2-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-35, 2160, Dawson, 4-Baker, 7-Innis.	1916? – 1924	L&H
1A2-9	Pinsky & Necrasoff Sold to McPherson, 1A2-11. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND	1920 – 1964	Ind.
1A2-10	Esper & Baker <i>Source:</i> 3-Henderson's, 4-Baker.	1923 – 1923	Ind.
1A2-11	McPherson, James E. Purchased from Pinsky & Necrasoff, 1A2-9. <i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.	1966 – 1968	Ind.

Richardson mentions two trading posts in addition to those listed here in 1902, but does not give their names.

1A3 – Hay River

1A3-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Wallace notes that most sources give 1872 as the closing date of this post, but the records of St. Ann Mission at Hay River indicate 1875. <i>Source:</i> 7-Wallace.	1868 – 1875	HBC
1A3-2	Hudson's Bay Co. An outpost trade may have been conducted here as early as 1895. Originally located in the old village on the east bank at the mouth of the East Channel. Moved to the Vale Island Townsite about 1949. A second store was opened in the new townsite about 1966, and the Vale Island store was closed in 1970. <i>Source:</i> 2-St. Peter's, 7-Wallace.	1901 – present	HBC
1A3-3	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 1A3-5. <i>Source:</i> 2-St. Peter's, 3-Henderson's, RCMP, 9-Ed. Bull.	1901 – 1912	H&N

1A3-4	Swiggart, G.M. (Swiggart & Co.) <i>Source: 2—St. Peter's, 3—RCMP.</i>	1901 – c.1919?	Ind.
1A3-5	Northern Traders Purchased from H&N, 1A3-3. <i>Source: 1—FETR, 2—PAC-36, 5686, 9—Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT
1A3-6	Peace River Trading Co. (Diamond P Stores) Sold to L&H, 1A3-7. <i>Source: 2—RCMP, 7—Cdn. Railway & Marine Guide</i>	1917? – 1920	OC
1A3-7	Lamson & Hubbard Purchased from Peace River Trading Co., 1A3-6. Sold to HBC, 1A3-2. <i>Source: 2—PAC-35, 2160, 7—Cdn. Railway & Marine Guide.</i>	1920 – 1924	L&H
1A3-8	Porritt, Robert <i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>	1949 – 1957?	Ind.
1A3-9	Dean, Stanley F. <i>Source: 1—IAND, FETR.</i>	1951 – 1955?	Ind.
1A3-10	Spreu, Herbert <i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>	1961 – 1962?	Ind.
1A3-11	Steinwand, A. (Arny's General Stores) <i>Source: 1—NWT.</i>	1966 – present	Ind.

1A4 – Salt River

60° 07'N, 112° 14'W.

1A4-1	Baker, Peter <i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Baker.</i>	1924 – 1926	Ind.
1A4-2	York & Lyall Outpost of Fort Smith. <i>Source: 2—PAC-5685, 4—Baker.</i>	1925 – 1928?	Ind.
1A4-3	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Fort Smith. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Holliday, 5—Mandeville, 7—Beaver.</i>	1927? – 1937	HBC

1A5 – Grand Detour, Slave River

At “King’s Sawmill”, left bank, 60° 21’ N, 112° 42’ W,
at east end of portage to Little Buffalo River. King’s
Sawmill a local name with no official status.

1A5–1	York & Lyall	1927 – 1929	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5685, 5–Mandeville, 8–H2/709–Mackenzie–1931 (335f.).		

1A6 – Slave River Below Grand Detour

1A6–1	Hudson’s Bay Co.	1927 – 1928	HBC
	“Michael’s Place”, right bank, 60° 23’ N, 112° 27’ W. Michael’s Place a local name with no official status. Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 5–Mandeville.		

1A6–2	McLeod, M.D.	1932 – 1935	Ind.
	Right bank, 60° 22’ N, 112° 28’ W. <i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–7487, 5–Mandeville, 8–H2/709–Mackenzie–1931 (335f.).		

1A7 – Slave River, above Brulé Point

Right bank, 60° 29’ N, 112° 31’ W.

1A7–1	Oulton, C.M.	1927 – 1932	Ind.
	Latterly operated by C. Byron Oulton. <i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5804, 7074, 5–Mandeville.		

1A8 – Buffalo Lake, west end

Exact location unknown.

1A8–1	Hudson’s Bay Co.	1927? – 1929?	HBC
	Outpost of Hay River. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 2–St. Peter’s.		

1A8–2	Northern Traders Ltd.	1927? – 1932?	NT
	Outpost of Hay River. <i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5686, St. Peter’s.		

SUBREGION 1B: TALTSON RIVER – EAST ARM**1B1 – Rocher River**

1B1–1	Hudson’s Bay Co.	1921? – 1963	HBC
	Sold to DeMelt, 1B1–4. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 4–Baker, 7–Pearson.		

1B1–2	Northern Traders Ltd.	1923 – 1936	NT
	Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 1–FETR, 2–PAC–5686, 4–Baker.		

1B1-3	Morrison, Frank <i>Source: 2-PAC-5695, 4-Baker.</i>	1924 – 1932	Ind.
1B1-4	DeMelt, E.R. Sold to Taltson River Trading Co., 1B1-5. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Pearson.</i>	1935 – 1968	Ind.
1B1-5	Taltson River Trading Co. Purchased from DeMelt, 1B1-4. <i>Source: 1-NWT.</i>	1969 – present	Ind.
1B2 – Snuff Channel, Taltson River			
Probably 61° 21' N, 112° 43' W, exact location unknown.			
1B2-1	Kaine, George H. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-6069, 4-Baker, 5-Surveys and Mapping.</i>	1928? – 1936	Ind.
1B3 – Rat River			
1B3-1	Morrison, Frank <i>Source: 2-PAC-5695, 4-Baker.</i>	1928 – 1930?	Ind.
1B3-2	Look, Arthur Leo <i>Source: 2-PAC-8236, 4-Baker.</i>	1935 – 1940	Ind.
1B3-3	Brodie, James <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1936 – 1939	Ind.
1B3-4	McQueen, Mrs. Dan <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1938 – c. 1945?	Ind.
1B4 – Taltson River, Napie Falls			
“Whiskey Creek”, about 2 miles above Napie Falls, app. 60° 27' N, 111° 00' W. Whiskey Creek a local name with no official status. Exact location unknown.			
1B4-1	Robinson, Fred: <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-7565.</i>	1933 – 1940	Ind.
1B5 – Hanging Ice Lake			
On small creek below lake at 60° 09' N, 110° 58' W.			
1B5-1	Russell, J. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5679, 4-Baker.</i>	1925 – 1927	Ind.
1B6 – Star Lake			
On north side of small peninsula at 60° 19' N, 110° 49' W.			
1B6-1	Baker, Peter <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1925 – 1927	Ind.

1B7 — Thekulthili Lake, south end

At head of Thekulthili River, 60° 54' N, 110° 18' W.

1B7-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1924 — 1925	HBC
	<i>Source: 4—Baker.</i>		

1B7-2	Baker, Peter	1925 — 1942	Ind.
	Closed 1929 — 1932.		
	Operated as outpost of Burnt Island, 1B8-2, after 1933.		
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Baker.</i>		

1B7-3	Daniels, J.J. and Russell, John	1926 — 1927	Ind.
	<i>Source: 2—PAC 5679, 5691, 4—Baker.</i>		

1B8 — Thekulthili Lake, "Burnt Island"

In bay of Thekulthili Lake at 61° 10' N, 110° 05' W. Burnt Island a local name with no official status.

1B8-1	Daniels, J.J.	1927 — 1933	Ind.
	Sold to Baker, 1B8-2.		
	<i>Source: 4—Baker</i>		

1B8-2	Baker, Peter	1933 — 1942	Ind.
	Purchased from Daniels, 1B8-1.		
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Baker.</i>		

1B9 — Nonacho Lake

North shore of west arm, 61° 49' N, 109° 48' W.

1B9-1	Baker, Peter	1927 — 1928	Ind.
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Baker.</i>		

1B10 — Snowdrift

1B10-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 — present	HBC
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 7—Rae.</i>		

1B10-2	Northern Traders Ltd.	1926 — 1938	NT
	Outpost of Fort Resolution.		
	Sold to HBC, 1B10-1		
	<i>Source: 1—FETR, 2—PAC-5686, 7—Rae.</i>		

1B10-3	Loutit, Alex	1927 — 1928	Ind.
	<i>Source: 2—PAC-5660, 5—Mandeville.</i>		

1B10-4	D'Aoust, Gus and D'Aoust, Philip	1940 — 1948	Ind.
	Operated by G. D'Aoust, 1940 — 1944,		
	P. D'Aoust 1944 — 1948.		
	<i>Source: 2—PAC-7891, 8727.</i>		

1B11 — Reliance

1B11-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 — 1930?	HBC
	<i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>		

1B11-2	D'Aoust, G. and Magrum <i>Source: 2-PAC-7891.</i>	1937 – 1940	Ind.
1B11-3	McKay, John J. <i>Source: 2-PAC-12040, 4-Baker.</i>	1938 – 1939	Ind.
1B11-4	D'Aoust, Gus May have done some intermittent trading between 1940 and 1962. <i>Source: 1-NWT, 4-Baker.</i>	1962 – present	Ind.

SUBREGION 1C: NORTH ARM

1C1 – Yellowknife

1C1-1	Weaver, H.E. Latterly operated under the name of Weaver and Devore. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1937 – present	Ind.
1C1-2	Stewart, Edwin John <i>Source: 2-PAC-9041.</i>	1937 – 1940?	Ind.
1C1-3	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1938 – present	HBC
1C1-4	Jones, E.G. Permit issued in 1939 to the Canadian Credit Men's Assoc. of Edmonton to enable them to operate Jones' business at Yellowknife. Sold to Hodgson, 1C1-6. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-9072.</i>	1938 – 1942	Ind.
1C1-5	Kushner, Sam <i>Source: 1-IAND, T&T, 2-PAC-9878.</i>	1938 – 1942	Ind.
1C1-6	A.S. Hodgson Ltd. Purchased from Canadian Credit Men's Assoc., 1C1-4. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1942 – 1963	Ind.
1C1-7	Baker, Peter <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1950 – 1951	Ind.

1C2 – Rae

1C2-1	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NT, 1C2-3. <i>Source: 3-Henderson's, RCMP, 7-Habrich, Rae.</i>	1902 – 1912	H&N
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1C2-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Post moved from Old Fort Rae. <i>Source: 6-HBC (EMR), 7-Anders.</i>	1906 – present	HBC
1C2-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 1C2-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 42, 5686, Dawson, 4-Baker, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT
1C2-4	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 1C2-2. <i>Source: 2-PAC-35, Dawson, 7-Innis.</i>	1918 – 1924	L&H
1C2-5	Pinsky & Necrasoff <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1923 – 1933	Ind.
1C2-6	Houssein, Mike and Darwish, James. Latterly operated by Darwish alone. Sold to Buffum, 1C2-7. <i>Source: 1-IAND, T&T, 4-Baker, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1925 – 1944	Ind.
1C2-7	Buffum, George Purchased from Darwish, 1C2-6. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1944 – 1947?	Ind.
1C2-8	Baker, Peter Sold to Steinwand, 1C2-9. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1957 – 1962	Ind.
1C2-9	Steinwand, Arnold (Arny's General Stores) Purchased from Baker, 1C2-8. <i>Source: 1-NWT, 4-Baker.</i>	1962 – present	Ind.
1C2-10	Etseradai Coop. Assoc. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1966 – present	Coop.

1C3 – Yellowknife River

At present site of Yellowknife Indian village, 62° 25' N, 114° 18' W.

1C3-1	Northern Traders Ltd. Outpost of Rae. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5686, 4-Baker, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1921? – 1928	NT
1C3-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Mandeville.</i>	1924 – 1928	HBC

1C4 – Trout Rock

Northeast side of North Arm at 62° 28' N, 114° 55' W.

1C4-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost.	1922 – 1927	HBC
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Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker, 5-Mandeville.**1C5 – Old Fort Rae**

62° 38' N, 115° 50' W.

1C5-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved to Rae.	1852 – 1906	HBC
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Source: 7-Anders.

1C5-2	Stewart and Bannerman Sold to HBC, 1C5-1.	1887 – 1889	Ind.
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Source: 9-Ed. Bull.

1C5-3	Hislop and Nagle Moved to Rae.	c. 1895? – 1902	H&N
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Source: 7-Innis, Habrich.**1C6 – Marian Lake**

At outlet of James Lake on west shore, 62° 59' N, 116° 23' W.

1C6-1	Northern Traders Ltd.	1928 – 1932?	NT
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Source: 2-PAC-5686, 4-Baker.**1C7 – "Mud Lake", west of Marian Lake**

On lake shown on current maps at 63° 01' N, 117° 12' W. Mud Lake an approved name but does not appear on current maps. Exact location unknown.

1C7-1	McLellan, John	1924? – 1943	Ind.
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Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5666, 4-Topo. Div., 8-H2/709-Mackenzie-1933.**1C8 – Lac la Martre settlement**

63° 08' N, 117° 17' W.

1C8-1	Thomas, M.A. Sold to Steinwand, 1C8-2.	1963 – 1964	Ind.
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Source: 1-NWT, 4-Baker.

1C8-2	Steinwand, A. (Army's General Stores) Outpost of Rae. Purchased from Thomas, 1C8-1.	1964 – present	Ind.
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Source: 1-NWT, 4-Baker.

1C9 – Snare Lake settlement

64° 11' N, 114° 04' W.

1C9-1	Steinwand, A.	1963 – 1967	Ind.
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(Army's General Stores)

Outpost of Rae.

Source: 1—NWT, TFRB, 7—Anders.

1C10 – Rae Lake Settlement

64° 05' N, 117° 28' W.

1C10-1	Steinwand, A.	1966 – present	Ind.
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(Army's General Stores)

Outpost of Rae.

Source: 1—NWT, 7—Anders.

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REGION TWO
MACKENZIE RIVER

THE MACKENZIE RIVER REGION

The history of the fur trade in the Mackenzie River region is broadly similar to that of Great Slave Lake. The beginning of effective competition to the Hudson's Bay Company came somewhat later, at the turn of the century. Here also, the trade was centralized at the major Forts: Providence, Simpson, Liard, Wrigley, Norman and Good Hope. All these sites had been established previously by the Hudson's Bay Company, although the site of Wrigley appears to have been moved after the turn of the century as a result of the initiative of Hislop and Nagle. The establishment of Arctic Red River around that time was a result of the growth of that community as an offshoot of Fort McPherson.

The river became home to the greatest number of men passing through Fort Smith, and over one third of all the independent posts in the Northwest Territories were located in this district. Particularly remarkable about the strength of the independent trade along the river was that, in terms of numbers involved, it peaked in the late 1930s, a full decade later than around Great Slave Lake or along the Arctic Coast. Thirteen new sites and 45 new posts were opened during the 1930s, as men from the south continued to seek haven from the agricultural and industrial crisis of that decade. Much of this activity occurred below Fort Simpson, particularly at Fort Norman and at several points along the river below Fort Good Hope. In response, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to establish strategic outposts in these areas, long after it had ceased doing so in, for example, the Mackenzie Delta or around Great Slave Lake.

Virtually all of the new locations established after 1920 were along the Mackenzie and Liard Rivers, although a few traders established on Trout Lake, up the Arctic Red River or on Great Bear Lake. This last region had not been opened up for trade at all until after 1900, unlike the Mackenzie and Liard Rivers on which the trade had by then been established for over a century. There seems to have been a hiatus in trading activity on Great Bear Lake between about 1911 and 1920. Such men as D'Arcy Arden may have traded during that time, but no definite record has been found.

Since the late 1930s, the number of trading posts has declined in all parts of the Mackenzie River region, without respite in the last few years as in the Great Slave Lake region. The Hudson's Bay Company once again dominates the trade, and there are now fewer posts along the river than at any time since 1900. The trade is restricted largely to the original fur trade sites, although the posts at Jean Marie River, Nahanni Butte, Colville Lake and Fort Franklin (all but the last operated by independents or natives) are of more recent vintage. Only at Fort Simpson is there more than one post.

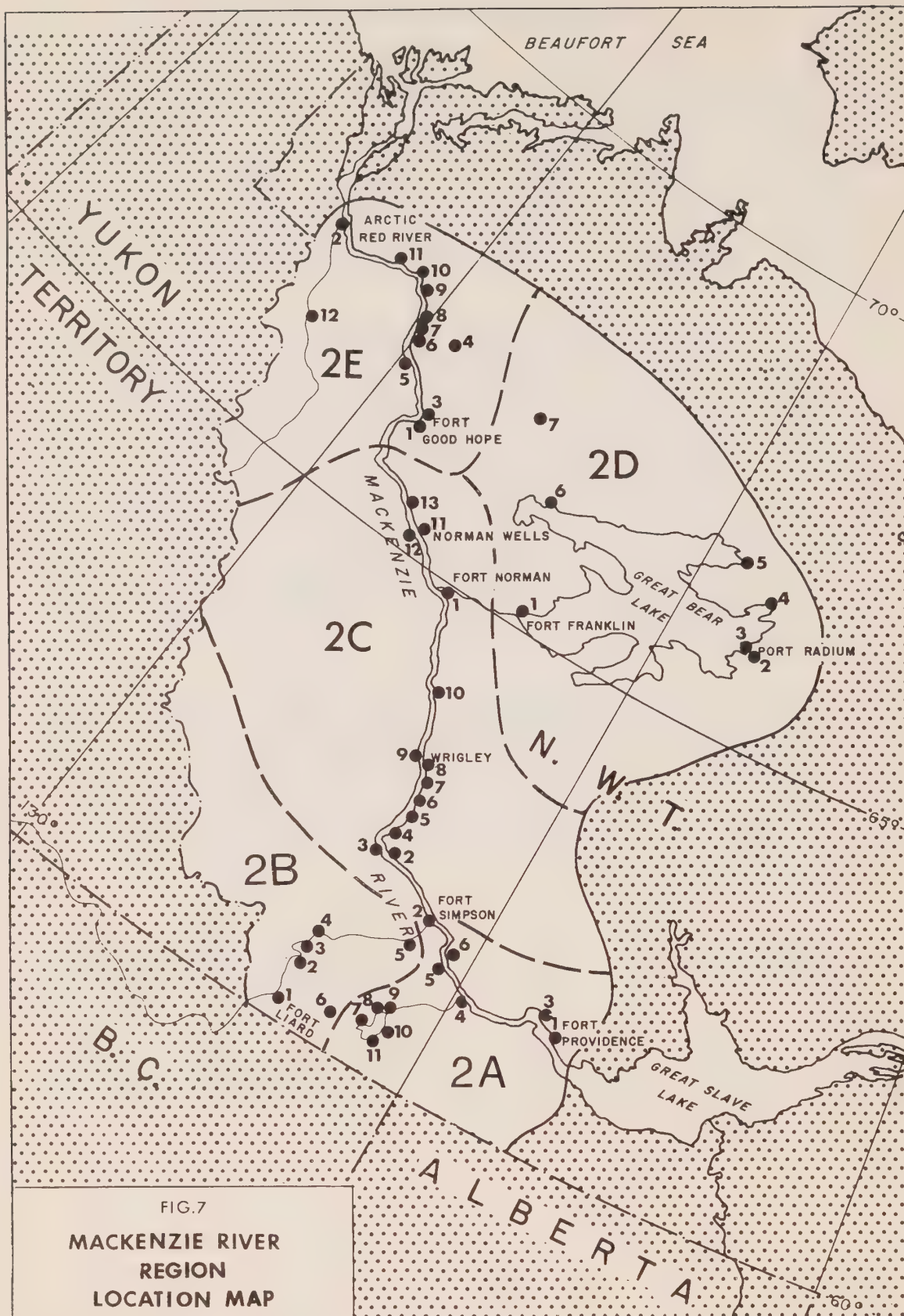


FIG. 7
MACKENZIE RIVER
REGION
LOCATION MAP

TABLE 5 – Trading Sites in the Mackenzie River Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated ¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 2A: PROVIDENCE – SIMPSON		35
2A1 – Fort Providence	1869 – present	8
2A2 – Fort Simpson	1822 – present	14
2A3 – Horn River	1924 – 1928?	2
2A4 – Trout River	c.1926? – – – 1959	2
2A5 – Jean Marie River	1964 – present	2
2A6 – Spence River	1935 – – – 1965	2
2A7 – Tout Lake (location unknown)	1926? – 1932?	1
2A8 – Trout Lake, northwest end	1923 – 1930	1
2A9 – Trout Lake, northeast end	1926? – 1933	1
2A10 – Trout Lake, Paradise River	1949 – 1954	1
2A11 – Trout Lake, settlement	1964 – 1965	1
SUBREGION 2B: LIARD – NAHANNI		19
2B1 – Fort Liard	1805 – – – present	6
2B2 – Liard River, below Fort Liard	1936 – 1938	1
2B3 – Netla River	1928 – 1954	3
2B4 – Nahanni Butte	1915 – – – present	6
2B5 – Liard River, Rapids	1928 – 1930?	1
2B6 – “Deer Lake”	1936 – 1938	2
SUBREGION 2C: WRIGLEY – NORMAN		35
2C1 – Fort Norman	1851 – present	15
2C2 – Mackenzie River, mile 271	1930 – 1935	1
2C3 – North Nahanni River	1924? – 1955?	2
2C4 – Root River	1935 – 1951	2
2C5 – Willowlake River	c.1926? – – – 1937	2
2C6 – River between Two Mountains	1937 – 1963	2
2C7 – Old Fort Wrigley	1887 – 1904	1
2C8 – Wrigley, new site	1966 – present	1
2C9 – Wrigley, old site	c.1902? – 1966	4
2C10 – Blackwater River	1928 – 1939	2
2C11 – Norman Wells	1937 – 1939	1
2C12 – Camp Canol	1942 – 1943	1
2C13 – Oscar Creek	1929 – 1936	1
SUBREGION 2D: GREAT BEAR LAKE		19
2D1 – Fort Franklin	1908 – – – present	5
2D2 – Cameron Bay	1931 – 1937	3
2D3 – Port Radium	1937 – 1941	2
2D4 – Hornby Bay	1908 – 1909	1

TABLE 5 — Trading Sites in the Mackenzie River Region (cont'd)

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated ¹	Number of posts
2D5 — Dease Bay	1910 — — — 1933	4
2D6 — Good Hope Bay	1929 — — — 1945	2
2D7 — Colville Lake	1961 — present	2
SUBREGION 2E: GOOD HOPE — ARCTIC RED		43
2E1 — Fort Good Hope	1836 — present	12
2E2 — Arctic Red River	1901 — — — present	9
2E3 — Hare Indian River	1920 — — — 1943	3
2E4 — “Rabbitskin River”	c. 1925? — 1927	1
2E5 — Gillis River	1931 — 1937	2
2E6 — Mackenzie River, mile 758	1935 — 1955?	1
2E7 — “Tutsieta River”	1941 — 1961?	1
2E8 — Little Chicago	1927? — — — 1937	4
2E9 — Mackenzie River, mile 791	1933 — — — 1940	2
2E10 — Thunder River	1933 — — — 1956	4
2E11 — Travaillant River	1927 — 1939	1
2E12 — “Raney”	c. 1925? — — — 1941	3
Total fur trade posts in region		151

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 2A: PROVIDENCE – SIMPSON

2A1 – Fort Providence

2A1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 6-HBC (EMR).</i>	1869 – present	HBC
2A1-2	Elmore, M.P. and Elmore, G. Sold to HBC, 2A1-1. <i>Source: 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1887 – 1889	Ind.
2A1-3	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 2A1-5. <i>Source: 3-Henderson's, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	c. 1900? – 1912	H&N
2A1-4	Swiggart, G.M. (Swiggart & Co.) <i>Source: 3-Henderson's, RCMP, 7-Cameron.</i>	1901? – 1908?	Ind.
2A1-5	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 2A1-3. Sold to HBC, 2A1-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 42, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT
2A1-6	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 2A1-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-35, 2160, 7-Innis.</i>	1918? – 1924	L&H
2A1-7	Alley, Bud Sold to Bouvier, 2A1-8. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1933 – 1948	Ind.
2A1-8	Bouvier, Joseph Purchased from Alley, 2A1-7. <i>Source: 1-IAND, TFRB.</i>	1948 – 1966	Ind.

2A2 – Fort Simpson

2A2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Stager.</i>	1822 – present	HBC
2A2-2	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 2A2-3. <i>Source: 3-Henderson's, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	c. 1900? – 1912	H&N
2A2-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 2A2-2 Sold to HBC, 2A2-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 5686, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT

2A2-4	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 2A2-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-35, 2160, Dawson, 7-Innis.	1918 – 1924	L&H
2A2-5	Gifford, John <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5661, 5-Hunt	1925 – 1935	Ind.
2A2-6	Largent, Chas. <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5694.	1926 – 1927	Ind.
2A2-7	Alley, Bud <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1926? – 1947	Ind.
2A2-8	Ross, W.W. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5652.	1927 – 1930	Ind.
2A2-9	Whittington, A.E. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-6347.	1929? – 1956?	Ind.
2A2-10	Peffer, H.E. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-6626.	1929 – 1931	Ind.
2A2-11	Cree, James <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1938 – 1963	Ind.
2A2-12	Brown, Harry Lee Reorganized in 1949 and known as the Fort Simpson Trading Co. thereafter. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, TFRB.	1939 – 1965	Ind.
2A2-13	Goodall, Mrs. J.D. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1945 – 1961	Ind.
2A2-14	R.J. Jones Trading Co. (R.J. Jones) Originally Jones & Perkins Trading Co.; Partnership dissolved in 1964. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 7-Higgins.	1964 – present	Ind.

2A3 – Horn River

About one half mile from mouth, at 61° 30' N, 118° 02' W.
Site formerly known as “Willow River”.

2A3-1	Verville, Noel Sold to HBC, 2A3-2. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5680, 5-Barry.	1924 – 1927	Ind.
2A3-2	Hudson’s Bay Co. Outpost. Purchased from Verville, 2A3-1. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Barry.	1927 – 1928?	HBC

2A4 – Trout River				
2A4–1	Verville, Noel	c. 1926? – 1927?	Ind.	
	At mouth, possibly on left bank. <i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5680.			
2A4–2	Browning, F.J.	1934 – 1959	Ind.	
	On left bank of Mackenzie River, 2-1/2 miles upstream from Trout River, at 61° 17' N, 119° 48' W. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 7–Taylor.			
2A5 – Jean Marie River				
2A5–1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost.	1964 – 1965	HBC	
	<i>Source:</i> 1–NWT			
2A5–2	Norwegian, Louis	1965 – present	Nat.	
	<i>Source:</i> 1–NWT.			
2A6 – Spence River				
2A6–1	Kerr, Herbert	1935 – 1936	Ind.	
	Near mouth, possibly at 61° 33' N, 120° 39' W. Exact location unknown. <i>Source:</i> 1–T&T, 2–PAC–8338.			
2A6–2	Browning, F.J.	1959 – 1965	Ind.	
	At mouth, about four miles below Jean Marie River settlement, at 61° 35' N, 120° 40' W. Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, TFRB.			
2A7 – Trout Lake				
	Approximate location unknown.			
2A7–1	Northern Traders Ltd. Outpost of Fort Providence.	1926? – 1932?	NT	
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5686.			
2A8 – Trout Lake, northwest end				
	Exact location unknown.			
2A8–1	Field, Poole.	1923 – 1930	Ind.	
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5708.			
2A9 – Trout Lake, northeast end				
	Exact location unknown.			
2A9–1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Fort Simpson.	1926? – 1933	HBC	
	Apparently closed 1927–28. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 5–Hunt, 7–Beaver.			

2A10 – Trout Lake, “Paradise River”

On east shore of Trout Lake, a few hundred yards south of “Paradise River”, at 60° 33’ N, 121° 03’ W. Paradise River is a local name with no official status.

2A10-1	Turner, George P. Outpost.	1949 – 1954	Ind.
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Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-7627, 4-Turner.

2A11 – Trout Lake Settlement

At mouth of Island River, 60° 26’ N, 121° 15’ W.

2A11-1	Hudson’s Bay Co. Outpost.	1964 – 1965	HBC
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Source: 1-NWT, 7-Higgins.

SUBREGION 2B: LIARD – NAHANNI**2B1 – Fort Liard**

2B1-1	Hudson’s Bay Co. Closed 1813 – 1820.	1805 – present	HBC
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Source: 1-IAND, 7-Stager, Smythe.

2B1-2	Hislop & Nagle <i>Source:</i> 3-Henderson’s, RCMP.	c. 1901? – 1909?	H&N
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2B1-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Sold to HBC, 2B1-1. <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-36, 5686.	c. 1915? – 1938	NT
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2B1-4	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 2B1-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-35, 2160, 7-Innis.	1921? – 1924	L&H
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2B1-5	Sime, J.H. <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-8855.	1938 – 1956?	Ind.
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2B1-6	Turner, George P. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Turner.	1958 – 1960	Ind.
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A Mr. McLeod is mentioned in the diary of St. Peters Mission, Hay River, as trading at Fort Liard in 1896, but it is not known whether he had a permanent post and for what years it may have operated.

2B2 – Liard River, below Fort Liard

Right bank, possibly at 60° 43’ N, 123° 21’ W.

2B2-1	Rorwick, Hans <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-8735.	1936 – 1938	Ind.
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2B3 — Netla River

2B3-1	Northern Traders Ltd. Right bank, Netla River, one quarter mile upstream from Liard River, 60° 57' N, 123° 17' W. Outpost. Sold to Boudah, 2B3-2 <i>Source: 2-PAC-5686, 4-Turner, 5-Hunt.</i>	1928 — 1932?	NT
2B3-2	Boudah, George Right bank, Netla River, one quarter mile upstream from Liard River, 60° 57' N, 123° 17' W. Purchased from NT, 2B3-1. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5650, 4-Turner, 5-Hunt.</i>	1932? — 1948	Ind.
2B3-3	Turner, George P. On Liard River, right bank, a few hundred yards north of Netla River, at 60° 56' N, 123° 18' W. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-7627, 4-Turner.</i>	1945 — 1954	Ind.

2B4 — Nahanni Butte

2B4-1	LaFlair, Alvin John <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-5673.</i>	1915 — 1948	Ind.
2B4-2	Northern Traders Ltd. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36.</i>	c. 1918? — c. 1924?	NT
2B4-3	Field, Poole <i>Source: 2-PAC-5708.</i>	1928 — 1935	Ind.
2B4-4	Mulholland, J.H. <i>Source: 2-PAC-8320.</i>	1935 — 1938	Ind.
2B4-5	Turner, George P. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Turner.</i>	1954 — 1970	Ind.
2B4-6	Nahanni Trading Co. <i>Source: 1-TFRB.</i>	1969 — present	Ind.

2B5 — Liard River Rapids

Right bank, by the ledge across the river at 61° 26' N, 121° 33' W.			
2B5-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Fort Simpson. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1928 — 1930?	HBC

2B6 — "Deer Lake"

"On north shore . . . in Lat. 60° 25' N, Long. 122° 20' W."
Deer Lake is a local name with no official status. Its location is uncertain as there are several small lakes in this general area.

2B6-1	Sime, J.H. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1936 – 1937	Ind.
2B6-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1937 – 1938	HBC

SUBREGION 2C: WRIGLEY – NORMAN

2C1 – Fort Norman

2C1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Originally established in 1810, moved to present location in 1851. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Stager.</i>	1851 – present	HBC
2C1-2	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 2C1-3. <i>Source: 2-St. Peters, 3-Henderson's, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	c. 1900? – 1912	H&N
2C1-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 2C1-2. Sold to HBC, 2C1-1. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-36, 5686, 9-Ed. Bull.</i>	1912 – 1938	NT
2C1-4	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 2C1-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-35, 2160, Dawson, 7-Innis.</i>	1918 – 1924	L&H
2C1-5	Hamdon & Alley <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-8823.</i>	1926 – 1932?	Ind.
2C1-6	Jomha & Siyman <i>Source: 2-PAC-5665.</i>	1927 – 1927	Ind.
2C1-7	Jomha, M.T. <i>Source: PAC-6750.</i>	1929 – 1937	Ind.
2C1-8	Schellenberger, Amos May have changed location in 1937-38 to mouth of Blackwater River. <i>Source: 2-PAC-7158.</i>	1931 – 1950	Ind.
2C1-9	Matson, P.A. <i>Source: 2-PAC-9206.</i>	1936 – 1938	Ind.
2C1-10	Mackenzie, A. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-8291.</i>	1937 – 1939	Ind.

2C1-11	Rivet, Frank <i>Source: 2-PAC-4812.</i>	1937 – 1939	Ind.
2C1-12	Law, Austin L. Sold to Campbell, 2C1-14. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-10126.</i>	1938 – 1946	Ind.
2C1-13	Andrew, Fred <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1941 – 1944	Ind.
2C1-14	Campbell, S.R. Purchased from Law, 2C1-12. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-10126.</i>	1946 – 1948	Ind.
2C1-15	Hall, Middleton F. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Weir.</i>	1950 – 1962	Ind.

2C2 – Mackenzie River, Mile 271

Right bank, about 10 miles above junction of North Nahanni River, app.
62° 09' N, 123° 04' W. Exact location unknown.

2C2-1	Roulier, E. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5663.</i>	1930 – 1935	Ind.
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2C3 – Mackenzie River, near North Nahanni River

2C3-1	Stewart, John M. East bank, one mile south of North Nahanni River, app. 62° 15' N, 123° 15' W. Mile 280. Exact location unknown. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5770.</i>	1924? – 1932?	Ind.
2C3-2	McKeown, Peter West bank, 1-1/2 miles south of North Nahanni River, app. 62° 14' N, 123° 16' W., Mile 280. Exact location unknown. <i>Source: 2-PAC-6527.</i>	1929 – 1955?	Ind.

2C4 – Mackenzie River, opposite Root River

East side, possibly 62° 28' N, 123° 14' W.

2C4-1	Roulier, Edward Exact location unknown. May have been sold to Carlson, 2C4-2. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5663.</i>	1935 – 1944	Ind.
2C4-2	Carlson, Helge Exact location unknown. May have been purchased from Roulier, 2C4-1 <i>Source: 2-PAC-8402.</i>	1944 – 1951	Ind.

2C5 – Willowlake River

2C5-1	Northern Traders Ltd. Outpost of Fort Simpson. Probably on right bank, at mouth. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5886.</i>	c. 1926? – 1932?	NT
2C5-2	Loe, Ole Left bank, approximately one mile from confluence with the Mackenzie. <i>Source: 2-PAC-7001.</i>	1933 – 1937	Ind.

2C6 – Mackenzie River, near River Between Two Mountains

Right bank, about 7 miles south of River Between Two Mountains, app. 62° 49' N, 123° 12' W., Mile 325.			
2C6-1	Gutcher, R.A. Possibly sold to Jones, 2C6-2. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1937 – 1939	Ind.
2C6-2	Jones, R.J. Possibly purchased from Gutcher, 2C6-1. May have moved to Wrigley at some time. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1939 – 1963	Ind.

2C7 – Old Fort Wrigley

Mackenzie River, 62° 59' N, 123° 14' W., Mile 337. “On a sloping swampy bank. . . hidden behind an Island on the east shore of the river with a small rapid in the channel along side.” (Camsell, p. 107).			
2C7-1	Hudson’s Bay Co. Formally an outpost of Fort Simpson. Moved to Wrigley (Old Site). <i>Source: 6-HBC (EMR), 7-Camsell, McConnell, Voorhis.</i>	1887 – 1904	HBC

2C8 – Wrigley (New Site)

2C8-1	Hudson’s Bay Co. Moved from Wrigley (old site). <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1966 – present	HBC
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2C9 – Wrigley (Old Site)

2C9-1	Hislop & Nagle <i>Source: 3-Henderson’s, RCMP.</i>	c.1902? – 1908?	H&N
2C9-2	Hudson’s Bay Co. Moved from Old Fort Wrigley. Moved to Wrigley (new site). <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1904 – 1966	HBC
2C9-3	Northern Traders Ltd. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 5686, Dawson, 3-RCMP.</i>	1911? – 1932	NT

2C9-4	Alley, Bud <i>Source: 1-IAND, T&T</i>	1926 – 1927	Ind.
2C10 – Blackwater River			
Right bank, at mouth, 63° 56' N, 124° 10' W, Mile 412.			
2C10-1	Cox, Charles <i>Source: 2-PAC-6003.</i>	1928 – 1931?	Ind.
2C10-2	Vibbard, L.D. <i>Source: 2-PAC-6886.</i>	1930 – 1932?	Ind.
2C11 – Norman Wells			
2C11-1	Desrosier, John <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-9058.</i>	1937 – 1939	Ind.
2C12 – Camp Canol			
Left bank, Mackenzie River, 65° 14' N, 127° 06' W.			
2C12-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Established chiefly as a commissary for the Canol construction crews, but also traded for furs. <i>Source: 1-IAND, FETR.</i>	1942 – 1943	HBC
2C13 – Oscar Creek			
Probably at mouth, 65° 26' N, 127° 28' W, Mile 584.			
2C13-1	Granath, Oscar S. <i>Source: 1-T&T, FETR, 2-PAC-6154.</i>	1929 – 1936	Ind.

SUBREGION 2D: GREAT BEAR LAKE

2D1 – Fort Franklin			
2D1-1	Melville, Cosmo Outpost. <i>Source: 7-Whalley.</i>	1908 – 1910	Ind.
2D1-2	Northern Traders Ltd. May not have been in continuous operation. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 5686, 4-Baker, Porsild.</i>	1920? – 1932	NT
2D1-3	Boland, A.W. Sold to HBC, 2D1-4. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-5687, 4-Baker.</i>	1926 – 1932	Ind.
2D1-4	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Fort Norman until 1950. Purchased from Boland, 2D1-3. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Weir.</i>	1932 – present	HBC

2D1-5	Hall, Middleton F. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Baker.</i>	1932 – 1939	Ind.
2D2 – Cameron Bay			
Former site of Port Radium, at 66° 04' N, 117° 53' W.			
2D2-1	Ingraham, Victor <i>Source: 2-PAC-7135, 4-Baker.</i>	1931 – 1936	Ind.
2D2-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Post known as New Fort Dease. Moved to Port Radium. <i>Source: 1-IAND, FETR, 7-Beaver.</i>	1933 – 1937	HBC
2D2-3	Swanson, Henry <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-5668, 4-Baker, 7-Onraet.</i>	1933 – 1937	Ind.
2D3 – Port Radium			
66° 05' N, 118° 02' W.			
2D3-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Cameron Bay. <i>Source: 1-IAND, FETR, 7-Beaver.</i>	1937 – 1941	HBC
2D3-2	Giroux, M.M. <i>Source: 1-FETR, T&T, 2-PAC-11168.</i>	1939 – 1940	Ind.
2D4 – Hornby Bay			
On north side, probably about 66° 40' N, 117° 40' W. Exact location unknown.			
2D4-1	Melvill, Cosmo <i>Source: 7-Whalley.</i>	1908 – 1909	Ind.
2D5 – Dease Bay			
2D5-1	Melvill, C. and Hornby, J. On Dease Bay a few hundred yards east of the mouth of the Dease River, at 66° 53' N, 119° 01' W. Operated by Hornby alone after 1911. <i>Source: 7-Whalley.</i>	1910 – 1913	Ind.
2D5-2	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Probably at same location as HBC, 2D5-3. <i>Source: 2-PAC-35, 2160, 4-Baker.</i>	1920? – 1923	L&H
2D5-3	Hudson's Bay Co. On south shore, two miles southeast of Dease River mouth, at 66° 52' N, 118° 58' W. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5687, 4-Porsild, 7-Beaver.</i>	1923? – 1933	HBC

2D5-4	Boland, A.W. Unknown if location same as 2D5-3. <i>Source:</i> 4-Baker.	1923 – 1926	Ind.
2D6 – Good Hope Bay Approximately at 66° 20' N, 124° 15' W. Exact location unknown.			
2D6-1	Northern Traders Ltd. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5686, 3-RCMP, 4-Baker, Brown.	1929 – 1929	NT
2D6-2	Overvold, R.V. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Brown.	1936 – 1945	Ind.
2D7 – Colville Lake			
2D7-1	McNeely, W.J. Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Brown.	1961 – 1968	Ind.
2D7-2	Brown, Rev. B. Under cooperative management in 1970. <i>Source:</i> 1-NWT, 4-Brown.	1969 – present	Ind.

SUBREGION 2E: GOOD HOPE – ARCTIC RED

2E1 – Fort Good Hope			
2E1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Originally established in 1804, moved to present location in 1836. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 7-Stager.	1836 – present	HBC
2E1-2	Elmore, M.P. & Elmore G. Sold to HBC, 2E1-1. <i>Source:</i> 9-Ed. Bull.	1887 – 1889	Ind.
2E1-3	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NTC, 2E1-4. <i>Source:</i> 3-Henderson's, 9-Ed. Bull.	c. 1900? – 1912	H&N
2E1-4	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 2E1-3. Sold to HBC, 2E1-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-36, 5686, Dawson, 9-Ed. Bull.	1912 – 1938	NT
2E1-5	Lamson & Hubbard Co. Sold to HBC, 2E1-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-35, 2160, 7-Innis.	1918? – 1924	L&H

2E1-6	Jomha & Slyman Partnership dissolved 1927 subsequently operated by Slyman. Sold to Furlong, 2E1-7. <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5665, 4-Porsild.	1927 – 1928	Ind.
2E1-7	Furlong, Bertram C. Purchased from Slyman, 2E1-6. <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5720.	1928 – 1932	Ind.
2E1-8	Alley, Bud Sold to Clarke, 2E1-11. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, FETR.	1937 – 1945	Ind.
2E1-9	Kakfwi, Gabriel <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1937 – 1956	Nat.
2E1-10	Lecou, Andre <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-13237.	1943 – 1950	Ind.
2E1-11	Clarke, Tommie Purchased from Alley, 2E1-8. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND	1946 – 1947	Ind.
2E1-12	McNeely, W.J. Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1956 – 1964	Ind.

2E2 – Arctic Red River

2E2-1	Hislop & Nagle Sold to NT, 2E2-3. <i>Source:</i> 3-Henderson's, 7-Innis, Wolforth, 9-Ed. Bull.	1901 – 1912	
2E2-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Fort McPherson, 1902-05. <i>Source:</i> 6-HBC (EMR), 7-Wolforth.	1902 – present	HBC
2E2-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Purchased from H&N, 2E2-1. Sold to Clark, 2E2-8. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-36, 5686, 9-Ed. Bull.	1912 – 1938	NT
2E2-4	Scogale Mercantile Co. <i>Source:</i> 3-RCMP.	1914 – 1915?	OC
2E2-5	Burrel, G. <i>Source:</i> 3-RCMP.	1915 – 1916?	Ind.

2E2-6	Pantel, Arthur <i>Source: 2-PAC-5781.</i>	1928 – 1930	Ind
2E2-7	McLeod, Mrs. D. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-7058.</i>	1928 – 1929	Ind.
2E2-8	Clark, William D. Purchased from NT, 2E2-3. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-5717.</i>	1939 – 1948	Ind.
2E2-9	Cardinal, Fred Outpost, possibly on behalf of Krutko, Fort McPherson. <i>Source: 2-PAC-8970.</i>	1944 – 1951	Nat.
2E3 – Hare Indian River			
2E3-1	Furlong, Bertram C. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5720.</i>	1920? – 1928?	Ind.
2E3-2	Hamdon & Alley <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-8823.</i>	1926 – 1929	Ind.
2E3-3	Fisher, Barney <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1942 – 1943	Ind.
2E4 – “Rabbitskin River”			
A former settlement at the north end of Yelte Lake, at 67° 03' N, 129° 25' W. Name officially rescinded in 1958.			
2E4-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Topo. Div.</i>	c. 1925? – 1927	HBC
2E5 – Gillis River			
Below mouth, on left bank, Mackenzie River, 66° 44' N, 129° 49' W., Mile 739.			
2E5-1	Anderson, P.A. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-7080, 4-Hunt.</i>	1931 – 1936	Ind.
2E5-2	Kakfwi, Gabriel <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Hunt.</i>	1932 – 1937	Nat.
2E6 – Mackenzie River, Mile 758			
66° 57' N, 130° 10' W.			
2E6-1	Fisher, Barney Post closed 1942-43. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1935 – 1955?	Ind.

2E7 "Tutsieta River"

Probably 67° 10' N, 130° 13' W., Mile 774. Tutsieta River is a local name with no official status. It presumably refers to the river southwest of Tutsieta Lake, whose mouth is at the location noted above.

2E7-1	Johnson, Harry	1941 – 1961?	Ind.
	<i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>		

2E8 – Little Chicago

2E8-1	Verville, Noel	1927? – 1929?	Ind.
	<i>Source: 2-PAC-5680.</i>		

2E8-2	Pantel, Mrs. Effie	1928 – 1930	Ind.
	Sold to Clark, 2E8-3. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5781.</i>		

2E8-3	Clark, William D.	1930 – 1933?	Ind.
	Outpost. Purchased from Pantel, 2E8-2. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5717.</i>		

2E8-4	Johnson, Harry	1935 – 1937	Ind.
	<i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>		

2E9 – Mackenzie River, Mile 791

Right bank, 67° 20' N, 130° 40' W.

2E9-1	McBride, William	1933 – 1935	Ind.
	<i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-7766.</i>		

2E9-2	Kollos, Dimitro	1939 – 1940	Ind.
	Uncertain if same location as 2E9-1. <i>Source: 1-T&T, FETR, 2-PAC-9512.</i>		

2E10 – Thunder River

App. 67° 29' N, 130° 49' W. Mile 804. Exact location unknown.

2E10-1	Johnson, E.H.	1933 – 1938	Ind.
	<i>Source: 2-PAC-7789.</i>		

2E10-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1936 – 1938?	HBC
	<i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>		

2E10-3	Schurer, J.K.	1939 – 1942	Ind.
	May have been at mouth of Travaillant River. <i>Source: 2-PAC-10172.</i>		

2E10-4	McNeely, William J. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1942 – 1956	Ind.
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The names Thunder River and Travaillant River (2E11), or “Traviar River” as it was locally referred to, were often used interchangeably, and not all of the above posts may actually have been located at Thunder River.

2E11 – Travaillant River

Left bank, at mouth, 67° 28' N, 131° 29' W. Mile 820.

2E11-1	Clark, William D. <i>Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5717.</i>	1927 – 1939	Ind.
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2E12 – “Raney”, Arctic Red River

About 90 miles south of Arctic Red River, possibly 66° 30' N, 133° 04' W. “Raney” or “Ramey” is a local name with no official status. It may refer to the former location of Bernard House.

2E12-1	Hudson’s Bay Co. Outpost of Arctic Red River. Also known as Trail Creek. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	c. 1925? – 1931	HBC
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2E12-2	Northern Traders Ltd. Outpost of Arctic Red River. <i>Source: 1-PAC-5686.</i>	1927? – 1929	NT
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2E12-3	Johnson, Harry <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1937 – 1941	Ind.
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REGION THREE
MACKENZIE DELTA

THE MACKENZIE DELTA REGION

The fur trade in the Mackenzie Delta developed much later than up river. The Hudson's Bay Company's Fort McPherson Post, although established in 1840, remained the only post in the region until after the turn of the century, and in any case it was not strictly speaking located in the Delta. It was the terminus of the Hudson's Bay trade along the Mackenzie River, and during the 19th century was not really considered to be in a separate district. The beginnings of competition at Fort McPherson came with the establishment of a Hislop and Nagle post, contemporaneous with similar events up river.

The Delta itself had never been occupied by native people the year around. Intensive exploitation of its fur resources by Eskimos, as well as by Indians, dates from the 1900s. Aklavik was established in 1912 as the first downstream extension of the Hudson's Bay Company's chain of posts in 72 years, and other companies followed quickly. Mink and muskrat were plentiful, and rising fur prices made the Delta one of the most attractive and profitable fur trade districts in the north. Its relatively small extent and its high productivity per unit of area, rendered the character of the fur trade there quite different from any other region.

The native population of the Delta was dispersed. Yet because most lived within a relatively short distance of the two main trading centres, the need for strategic outposts was less than in the other regions. In no other district were the major centres so dominant in the total regional trade. Half of all the posts that operated in the Delta were located in Fort McPherson and Aklavik, and the latter was by far the most important single fur trade centre in the entire north, in terms both of the number of traders involved and value of furs traded.

There were many independents however, who established trapping and trading camps in the Delta away from the major centres. These trading ventures relied on a more local and restricted clientele, and were often short lived. Despite the prevalence of both independent and native traders to quite a late date throughout the Delta, the large companies generally restricted their activities to Fort McPherson and Aklavik. For a brief period in the late 1920s, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northern Traders Limited established several outposts in the southern part of the Delta, but these were quickly closed with the onset of the Depression.

As in other regions, the late 1930s brought the demise of the Hudson's Bay Company's major competitors, as well as a decline in the independents. The subsequent decade however, brought a resurgence in the muskrat trade, which by this time was more than ever the staple fur of the region. As a result, the number of independent as well as native trading ventures increased, and during the late 1940s there were almost as many establishments as there had been in the early '30s, although a greater proportion were in the two main centres. The Delta did not share in the declining fur volume and opportunities for trade which occurred throughout the N.W.T. during the 1940s. Indeed, while the Arctic regions suffered an economic crisis in the late 1940s and early 50s, record numbers of muskrat were being harvested in the Delta.

Since then, there has been a sharp and steady decline in the number of posts in the region, which has paralleled the abandonment of the trading camps in favour of town life. All of the eight posts remaining are located in Fort McPherson, Aklavik and Inuvik. The differences in trading practices and clientele between the Bay stores and the independents in each town are as marked as anywhere in the north.

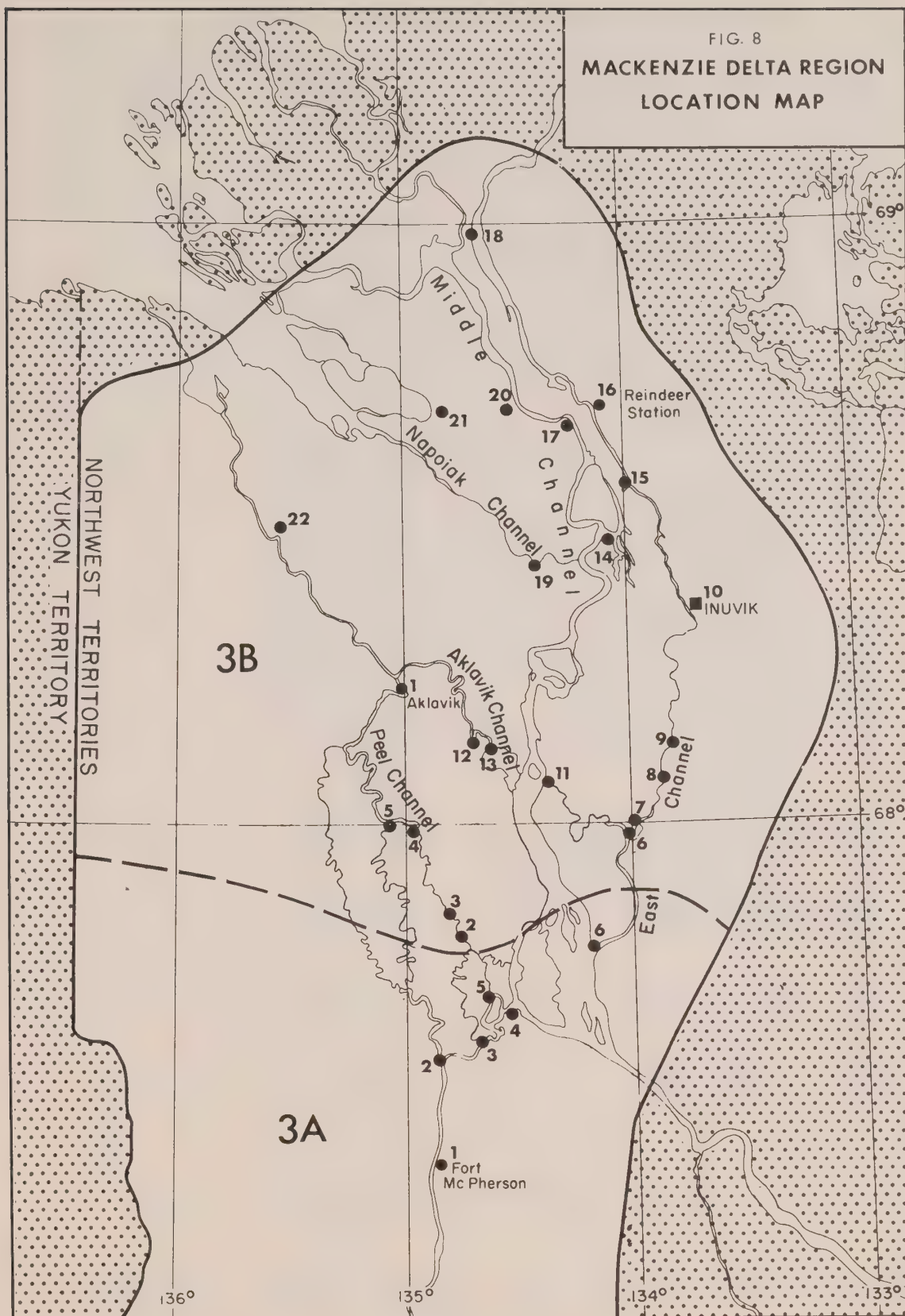


TABLE 6 – Trading Sites in the Mackenzie Delta Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 3A: PEEL		27
3A1 – Fort McPherson	1840 – present	13
3A2 – Husky Channel, below Peel River	1926? – 1935	2
3A3 – Rotten Eye Creek	1925? – 1930?	2
3A4 – Mouth of Peel	1927? – – – 1949	3
3A5 – Peel River & Peel Channel	1927? – 1932?	2
3A6 – East Channel & Main Channel	1927 – – – 1951	.5
SUBREGION 3B: DELTA		57
3B1 – Aklavik	1912 – present	29
3B2 – Peel Channel, below Peel River	1943 – 1957	3
3B3 – Oniak Creek	1941 – 1945?	1
3B4 – Middle Peel Channel	1936 – 1939?	1
3B5 – Middle Peel Channel and Phillips Channel	1936 – 1964	1
3B6 – East Channel near Kalinek Channel	1927 – 1939	1
3B7 – East Channel, 68° N	1932 – 1933?	1
3B8 – East Channel, Big Rock	1929 – 1930?	1
3B9 – East Channel, Gull Creek	1937 – 1963	1
3B10 – Inuvik	1956 – present	2
3B11 – Middle Channel, near Aklavik Channel	1930 – c. 1942?	1
3B12 – Aklavik Channel	1929 – 1930	1
3B13 – Forks of Aklavik Channel	1943 – 1947	1
3B14 – Oniak Channel & Main Channel	1928 – 1929	1
3B15 – Oniak Channel & East Channel	1940 – 1945	1
3B16 – Reindeer Station	1949 – 1968	1
3B17 – Middle Channel near Reindeer Station	1928 – 1929	1
3B18 – East Channel near Tununuk	1929 – 1930	1
3B19 – Napoyak Channel	1949 – 1956	1
3B20 – Axel Creek	1931 – – – 1954	4
3B21 – Kipnik Channel	1926 – 1935	2
3B22 – Hvatum Channel	1942 – 1956	1
Total fur trade posts in region.		84

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 3A: PEEL

3A1 – Fort McPherson

3A1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Originally located 1-1/2 miles upstream. Moved to present site about 1848. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 7-Wolforth.	1840 – present	HBC
3A1-2	Hislop & Nagle <i>Source:</i> 3-Henderson's, RCMP.	1902? – 1908	H&N
3A1-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Sold to HBC, 3A1-1. <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-5686, 7-Wolforth.	1913? – 1938	NT
3A1-4	Scogale Mercantile Co. <i>Source:</i> 3-RCMP, 7-Wolforth.	1914 – c. 1918?	OC
3A1-5	Lamson & Hubbard Sold to HBC, 3A1-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-35, 2160, 7-Innis, Wolforth.	1919 – 1924	L&H
3A1-6	Johnson-Hainline <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 7-Wolforth.	1922 – 1924?	Ind.
3A1-7	Moses Dehar & Co. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5669.	1927? – 1929	Ind.
3A1-8	Blake, A.N. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5654.	1927? – 1935	Ind.
3A1-9	Verville, Noel <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5680	1928 – 1929?	Ind.
3A1-10	Kunnezzzi, Andrew <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-12341	1943 – 1950	Nat.
3A1-11	Ross, W.W. Outpost. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5652	1943 – 1946	Ind.
3A1-12	Krutko, Mike <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND	1944 – present	Ind.
3A1-13	Forman, A.D. <i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.	1961 – present	Ind.

3A2 – Junction of Husky Channel and Peel River

App. 67° 37' N, 134° 52' W.

3A2-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926? - 1930?	HBC
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Outpost — probably of Fort McPherson.

Exact location unknown.

Shown variously on maps as “Askis River Post” or “Husky River Post”.

Source: 1-IAND.

3A2-2	Blake, A.N.	1926? - 1935	Ind.
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Outpost of Fort McPherson.

On left bank of Peel River, one half mile below
junction of Husky Channel, 67° 37'N, 134° 50'W.

Source: 1-T&T, 2-PAC-5654.

3A3 – "Rotten Eye Creek"

Possibly 67° 38' N, 134° 40' W. Rotten Eye is a local name with no official status. Its location is said to be "18 miles from Ft. McPherson, 6 miles from the source of Husky Channel."

3A3-1	Watson and Purcell	1925? - 1927	Ind.
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Source: 5—Semmler

3A3-2 Hudson's Bay Co. c. 1927? – 1930? HBC

Outpost of Fort McPherson.

Source: 1—IAND.

3A4 — Mouth-of-the-Peel Indian village

67° 41' N, 134° 34' W.

3A4-1	Firth, James	1927? – 1930?	Nat.
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Source: 2-PAC-5749

3A4-2	Douglas, W.W.	1933 - 1937?	Ind.
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Source: 2-PAC-7733, 4-Wood.

3A4-3	Sample, Johnnie	1946 - 1949	Nat.
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Source: 2-PAC-16246, 4-Hinds.

3A5 – Junction of Peel River and Peel Channel

3A5-1	Northern Traders Ltd.	1927? – 1932?	NT
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Peel River, north shore, at or near its

junction with the Peel Channel, app. one

mile west of the Mackenzie River, app.

67° 43'N, 134° 36'W. Exact location unknown.

Outpost — uncertain whether of Arctic

Red River or Fort McPherson.

Source: 2-PAC-5686.

3A5-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Peel Channel, west bank, app. 67° 43'N, 134° 38'W. Outpost of Fort McPherson. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1928 – 1930?	HBC
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3A6 – Junction of East Channel and Main Channel

67° 48' N, 134° 10' W.

3A6-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Left bank, East Channel. Outpost, probably of Fort McPherson. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Marander.	1927 – 1930	HBC
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3A6-2	Verville, Noel Left bank, East Channel, one half mile from junction with Main Channel. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5680, 5-Marander.	1927? – 1936?	Ind.
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3A6-3	Northern Traders Ltd. Right bank, East Channel. Outpost of Arctic Red River. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5686, 4-Porsild, 7-Wolforth.	1928 – 1930?	NT
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3A6-4	Brouillard, Eli Exact location unknown. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Marander.	1936 – 1937	Ind.
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3A6-5	Cardinal, Fred Exact location unknown. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-8970.	1943 – 1951	Nat.
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SUBREGION 3B: DELTA

3B1 – Aklavik

3B1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Post originally established at Pokiak Pt. opposite the present settlement of Aklavik. Moved to present site in 1924. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Gall, 7-Wolforth.	1912 – present	HBC
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3B1-2	Northern Traders Ltd. Post originally established at Pokiak Pt. opposite the present site of Aklavik. Moved to present site in 1919. Originally known as Sinik, or Fort Scenic. Sold to HBC, 3B1-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-36, 5686, 7-Wolforth.	1913? – 1938	NT
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3B1-3	H. Liebes & Co. This post said to be the first at the present site of Aklavik. <i>Source:</i> 7-Ridge, Wolforth.	1918 – 1921	OC
3B1-4	Lamson & Hubbard Sold to HBC, 3B1-1. <i>Source:</i> 7-Innis, Wolforth.	1920 – 1924	L&H
3B1-5	Cunningham <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 7-Wolforth	1922? – 1924?	Ind.
3B1-6	Warner, H. <i>Source:</i> 1-T&T, 2-PAC-4157, 7-Wolforth.	1922? – 1924?	Ind.
3B1-7	Day, William See also 3B1-19. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1926 – 1930	Nat.
3B1-8	Eckhard, A.W.P. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5663.	1927 – 1933	Ind.
3B1-9	Miller, A.J. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, T&T	1927 – 1929?	Ind.
3B1-10	Hamdon & Alley Sold to NT, 3B1-2. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-8823, 5-Marander.	1929? – 1932?	Ind.
3B1-11	Kost, Mrs. V. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-6853, 5-Hunt.	1930 – 1948?	Ind.
3B1-12	Parsons, J. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-7172, 7-Stewart	1932 – 1936	Ind.
3B1-13	Peffer, H.E. Operated by S.M. Petter after the death of his father, H.E. Peffer, in 1940. Between 1947 and 1953 this post was controlled by a group of shareholders under the name of Peffer Trading Co. Ltd. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1932 – 1961	Ind.
3B1-14	Douglas, W.W. <i>Source:</i> 1-FETR, 2-PAC-7733	1937 – 1941?	Ind.
3B1-15	Jones, James Lee, and Ross, W.W. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Marander.	1938 – 1941	Ind.

3B1-16	Douglas, John H. Sold to J.L. Jones, 3B1-23. <i>Source: 2-PAC-10087.</i>	1939 – 1947	Ind.
3B1-17	Lang, Knud H. Outpost of 3B5-1 until 1961. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1941 – 1964	Ind.
3B1-18	Norris, Adolphus Outpost until 1951. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1942 – 1958	Ind.
3B1-19	Day, William Sold to Saul Shubin, 3B1-20. See also 3B1-7. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1942 – 1943	Nat.
3B1-20	Shubin, Saul Purchased from Day, 3B1-19. Sold to Pines, of New York, 3B1-21. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1943 – 1945	Ind.
3B1-21	Pines, Roy Purchased from Shubin, 3B1-20. Sold to Mackie, 3B1-25. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-15775, 5-Semmler.</i>	1945 – 1950	Ind.
3B1-22	Semmler, L.F. On Enoch Channel <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1946 – 1956	Ind.
3B1-23	Jones, James Lee Purchased from J.H. Douglas, 3B1-16. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-8432, 10087.</i>	1947 – 1949?	Ind
3B1-24	Boxer, A.J. On Enoch Channel. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1950 – 1953	Ind.
3B1-25	Mackie, Stanley S. Purchased from Pines, 3B1-21. See also 3B1-29. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1951 – 1952	Ind.
3B1-26	Strong, William <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1954 – 1956?	Ind.
3B1-27	Lacombe, Ernest <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1959 – 1966	Ind.

3B1-28	Aklavik Fur Garment Coop. <i>Source: 1-NWT.</i>	1964 – present	Coop.
3B1-29	Mackie, Stanley S. See also 3B1-25. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1966 – present	Ind.

3B2 – Peel Channel, 12 miles below Peel River mouth

Variously described as “opposite Sam’s River” and “at mouth of Thompson Creek”, app. 67° 49’ N, 134° 45’ W. Sam’s River and Thompson Creek are local names with no official status. Exact location unknown.

3B2-1	Ross, W.W. Outpost. Sold to Jones, 3B2-2 <i>Source: 2-PAC-5652.</i>	1943 – 1946	Ind.
3B2-2	Jones, James Lee Purchased from Ross, 3B2-1. In 1947 Jones closed this post as his main post, and it became an outpost, see 3B1-23. Sold to Pfeffer, 3B2-3. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1946 – 1948	Ind.
3B2-3	Pfeffer, S.M. Outpost of Aklavik until 1952. Purchased from Jones, 3B2-2. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1948 – 1957	Ind.

3B3 – Mouth of “Oniak Creek”, West Bank, Peel Channel

App. 55 miles by water south of Aklavik, app. 67° 50’ N, 134° 50’ W. Oniak Creek is a local name with no official status, and is not the same as Oniak Channel (near Reindeer Station). Exact location unknown.

3B3-1	Kunnezzi, Andrew <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-12341.</i>	1941 – 1945?	Nat.
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3B4 – Middle Peel Channel

West bank, app. 6 miles above Phillips Channel, app. 67° 59’ N, 134° 57’ W. Exact location unknown.

3B4-1	Betz, Karl <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1936 – 1939?	
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3B5 – Middle Peel Channel and Phillips Channel

Southwest bank of junction, 68° 01’ N, 135° 03’ W.

3B5-1	Lang, Knud H. Became outpost of Aklavik in 1961. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Mackay.</i>	1936 – 1964	Ind.
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3B6 – East Channel near Kalinek Channel

App. 67° 58' N, 134° 02' W, Exact location unknown.

3B6-1	Phillips, William G.	1927 – 1939	Ind.
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Operated by Mrs. Phillips after her husband's death in 1935. Mrs. Phillips remarried about 1937 and operated this post under the name of Mrs. M.N. Leland.
Source: 2-PAC-5758, 5-Barry, Marander.

3B7 – East Channel, 68° 00' N

“On the left bank, in Lat. 68°N, Long. 134°W., approx.” Exact location unknown.

3B7-1	Magnusson, H.	1932 – 1933?	Ind.
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Source: 2-PAC-6120

3B8 – East Channel, “Big Rock”

68° 05' N, 133° 48' W. Big Rock is a local name with no official status.

3B8-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1929 – 1930?	HBC
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Outpost, probably of Aklavik
Source: 1-IAND

3B9 – East Channel, Gull Creek

At mouth of Little Gull Creek, 68° 11' N, 133° 50' W.

3B9-1	Norris, Adolphus	1937 – 1963	Ind.
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Outpost.
 Operated by Fred Norris after 1957.
Source: 1-IAND.

3B10 – Inuvik

3B10-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1956 – present	HBC
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Source: 1-IAND.

3B10-2	Semmler, L.F.	1956 – present	Ind.
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Source: 1-IAND.

3B11 – Middle Channel, near Aklavik Channel

Right bank, opposite Aklavik Channel, 68° 04' N, 134° 22' W.

3B11-1	Lacombe, Ernest	1930 – c. 1942?	Ind.
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Source: 2-PAC-6824, 4-Wood, 5-Marander.

3B12 – Aklavik Channel, left bank

“In approx. Lat. 68° 07' N, Long. 134° 40' W.” Exact location unknown.

3B12-1	Day, William	1929 – 1930	Nat
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Source: 2-PAC-5667.

- 3B13 — Forks of Aklavik Channel**
68°08' N, 134° 36' W.
3B13-1 White, George A. 1943 – 1947 Ind.
Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.
- 3B14 — Junction of Oniak Channel and Main Channel**
South bank, Oniak Channel, 68° 29' N, 134° 05' W.
3B14-1 Magnusson, H. 1928 – 1929 Ind.
Source: 2-PAC-6120, 5-Marander.
- 3B15 — Junction of Oniak Channel and East Channel**
Left bank, East Channel, 68° 34' N, 123° 59' W.
3B15-1 Ross, W.W. 1940 – 1945 Ind.
Outpost, 1941-42.
Source: 2-PAC-5652, 5-Semmler.
- 3B16 — Reindeer Station**
3B16-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1949 – 1968 HBC
Source: 1-IAND
- 3B17 — Middle Channel, near Reindeer Station**
Left bank, 68° 40' N, 134° 14' W.
3B17-1 Wolki, Fred 1928 – 1929 Nat.
Moved to East Channel near Tununuk.
Source: 2-PAC-5752, 5-Sydney.
- 3B18 — East Channel, near Tununuk**
Left bank, 68° 58' N, 134° 40' W.
3B18-1 Wolki, Fred 1929 – 1930 Nat.
Moved from Middle Channel, near Reindeer Station.
Source: 2-PAC-5752, 5-Sydney.
- 3B19 — Napoyak Channel**
Below junction of Schooner Channel, 68° 26' N, 134° 23' W.
3B19-1 Semmler, L.F. 1949 – 1956 Ind.
Outpost of Aklavik until 1952.
Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.
- 3B20 — Axel Creek**
Two miles west of junction with Main Channel, 68° 42' N, 134° 35' W.
3B20-1 Rosen, Axel 1931 – 1937 Ind.
Source: 1-IAND, 5-Marander.
- 3B20-2 Jones, James Lee and Ross, W.W. 1940 – 1941 Ind.
Sold to Ethier, 3B20-3.
Source: 2-PAC-8432, 5-Marander.

3B20-3	Ethier, Constant Purchased from Jones and Ross, 3B20-2. Sold to Pepper, 3B20-4. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Marander.	1941 – 1943	Ind.
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3B20-4	S.M. Pepper Co. Outpost of Aklavik, 1943-47 and 1952-54. Purchased from Ethier, 3B20-3. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 2-PAC-6626, 5-Marander.	1943 – 1954	Ind.
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3B21 – Kipnik Channel

Name officially adopted 1968, does not appear on current maps. Channel extends from 68° 43' N, 134° 56' W. to 68° 41' N, 134° 43' W. Exact location of posts unknown.

3B21-1	Eckhardt, A.W.P. Sold to NT, 3B21-2. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5653, 4-Topo. Div.	1926 – 1933	Ind.
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3B21-2	Northern Traders Ltd. Outpost of Aklavik. Purchased from Eckhardt, 3B21-1. <i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5686, 4-Topo. Div.	1933 – 1935	NT
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3B22 – Hvatum Channel

East bank, 68° 29' N, 135° 32' W.	1942 – 1956	Ind.
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3B22-1	Hvatum, Nels. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Cournoyea.
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Dr. T.W. Barry, Inuvik, N.W.T., 26 Sept. 70.

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REGION FOUR
ARCTIC COAST

THE ARCTIC COAST REGION

In 1870 there were no trading posts within the Arctic Coast Region, although the Hudson's Bay Company had maintained a post on the Anderson River for a few years during the 1860s. The Mackenzie Eskimos west of Cape Bathurst had been marginally involved in the fur trade, some actually travelling to Fort McPherson. To the east, however, the Eskimos had no contact with outside commercial ventures of any kind.

American whalers frequented the Arctic coast as far east as Cape Parry between 1889 and 1907. They were not long in recognizing the commercial significance of furs as well as whales, and by the turn of the century, the fur trade had become a profitable sideline for most whaling masters. This trade was conducted from shipboard, and such sites as Herschel and Baillie Islands became important trading centres long before permanent posts were established there.

Intensive exploitation of the region's fur resources began only during the second decade of the 20th century. The trade was intensely competitive, involving chiefly the Hudson's Bay Company and some San Francisco whaling and trading firms, but also a number of Canadian and American independents. "The Bay" erected their first permanent post in the region at Kittigazuit in 1912, as an outpost of Aklavik. The Company established a post at Herschel Island in 1915, and two important posts at Baillie Island and Bernard Harbour the following year.

Several independents, many of them ex-whalers, had already reached the Cororation Gulf region. Such men as Wolki, Klengenberg, Bernard and Norberg were prominent in the early days of the trade, but generally traded from their schooners rather than establishing permanent posts.¹ Such "floating posts" were common before 1920, but decreased in significance until they were prohibited by regulation in the late 1920s.

The spread of permanent posts was rapid. The Hudson's Bay Company established a post on King William Island in 1923, and subsequent competition resulted in the infilling of the more established areas. Virtually all protected harbours along the coast were used for winter trapping and trading sites. New posts were established every year, often with an eye to intercepting bands of Eskimos travelling from their winter trapping grounds to the older posts.

During the 1920s, Baillie Island was the chief trading centre east of Herschel Island, but with the declining availability of foxes in that district, the focus soon

¹ The distinction between the schooner-based trade and permanent posts is sometimes rather fine. In the former, the captain would winter at some otherwise unoccupied site, trading with passing or temporarily encamped Eskimos throughout the winter. He may even have had tents on shore, for one did not necessarily live aboard the schooner throughout the winter. The schooner captains seldom wintered in the same place twice. Strictly speaking, permanent posts were those erected from logs or sawn lumber, and which were supplied by vessels which did not necessarily winter at the trading site. Many independents however, only had one post, and their trade differed little in form or function from that of the "floating posts," except that they did have a building to which they returned each year. For the sake of consistency, floating posts have not been included in this list, despite this perhaps arbitrary distinction, and despite the fact that it is not always possible to make the distinction on the basis of available evidence.

shifted to Coronation Gulf. White trappers and traders continued coming to the latter area even well into the Depression years.

The creation of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve, which by 1926 included all of the Arctic Islands as well as the mainland east of Bathurst Inlet, had a profound effect on post locations. Because whites could not trap in the Preserve, all but a few independents were effectively prevented from trading there as well. During the late 1920s, the Department of the Interior also sought to restrict the number of locations used by the major companies, due to a fear that the establishment of such permanent posts was adversely affecting caribou migrations. Hence, for example, the Hudson's Bay Company was asked to confine its operations on Western Victoria and Banks Islands² to one post, and close its Perry River post altogether.

The decline in trading activity along the Arctic coast after 1930 was sharp and uninterrupted. The Canalaska Company withdrew in 1938, and many independents left the country around that time. The Hudson's Bay Company, which had closed many of its smaller posts even in the 1920s as the competing floating posts were eliminated, continued to rationalize its operations. Although the company had opened 35 posts in the region prior to 1940, by the end of that year only 9 were still in operation. Semmler, an independent who had operated several posts, mainly in Coronation Gulf, withdrew to the Mackenzie Delta in 1948. During the severe decline in fox prices around 1950, little or no profit could be obtained from the fur trade, and at several traditional locations the only trading outlets were operated by the Roman Catholic Mission.

In the late 1950s and early '60s, improved fox prices and the growth of marten trapping in the Anderson River area resulted in the opening of a few new independent posts in the western part of the region. Most have since closed however, and with the continued rationalization by the Hudson's Bay Company, there are now only nine posts in the entire region. The Hudson's Bay Company operates one at each of the six major settlements. Of the three smaller settlements, two are served by co-operatives, and one by a local Eskimo trader.

²The latter was a floating post, not listed here.

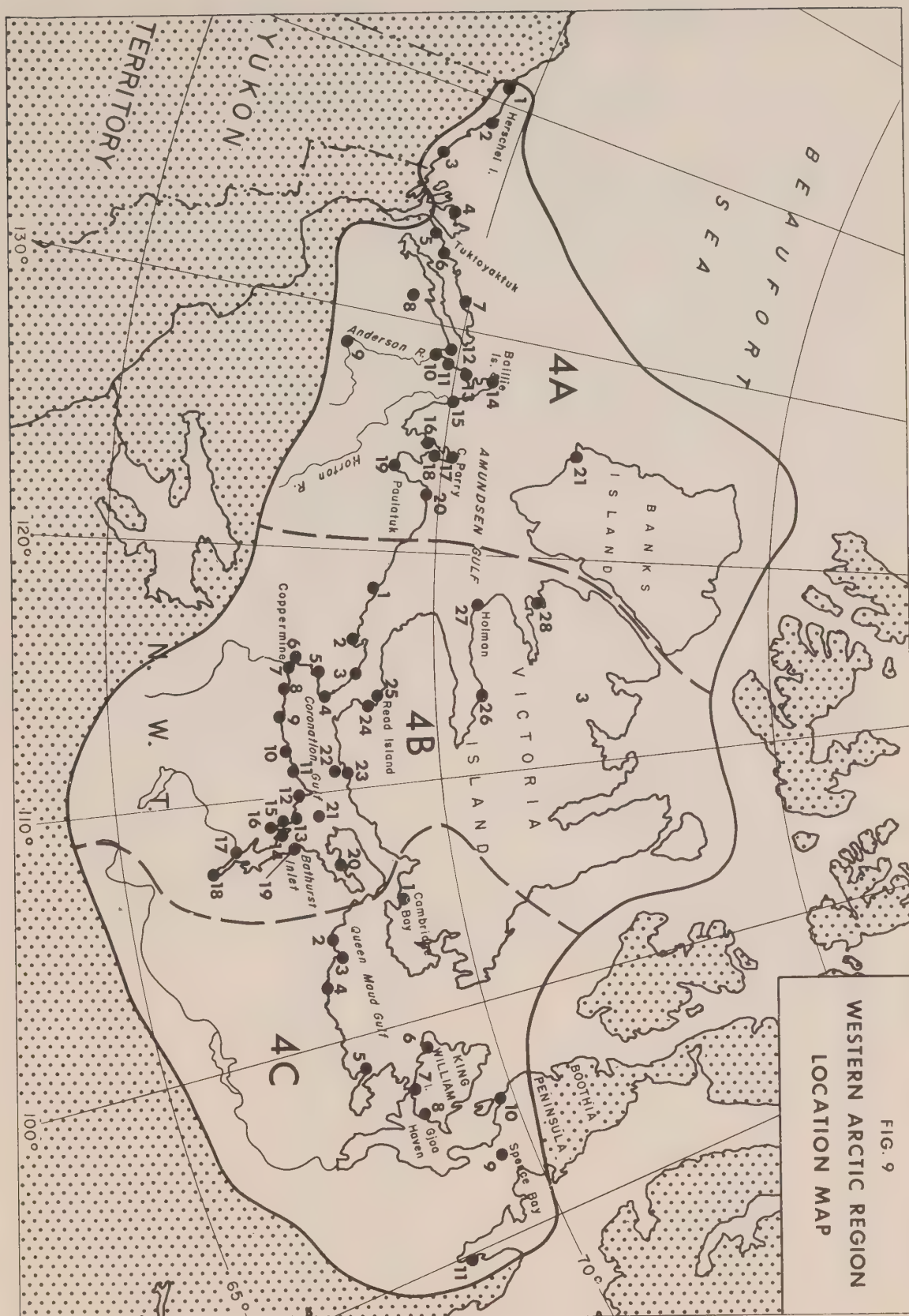


TABLE 7 – Trading Sites in the Arctic Coast Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated ¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 4A: BEAUFORT		40
4A1 – Demarcation Point	1921 – 1924	1
4A2 – Herschel Island	1915 – 1938	1
4A3 – Shingle Point	1917 – 1928	2
4A4 – Kendall Island	1913 – 1928	1
4A5 – Kittigazuit	1912 – – – 1940	5
4A6 – Tuktoyaktuk	1934 – present	6
4A7 – Atkinson Point	1921? – 1933	1
4A8 – Kugaluk River	1922 – – – 1939	3
4A9 – Anderson Forks	1926 – – – 1964	2
4A10 – Anderson Mouth	1918 – 1922	1
4A11 – Stanton	1942 – 1954	1
4A12 – Nicholson Island	1927 – 1929	1
4A13 – Maitland Point	1939 – 1941	1
4A14 – Cape Bathurst	1916 – 1939	1
4A15 – Horton River	c. 1918? – 1931	2
4A16 – Tom Cod Bay	1927? – 1930?	1
4A17 – Cape Parry	1918? – 1967	2
4A18 – Letty Harbour	1927 – – – 1959	3
4A19 – Paulatuk	1942 – – – present	2
4A20 – Pearce Point	1922? – – – 1934	2
4A21 – Sachs Harbour	1958 – present	1
SUBREGION 4B: CORONATION		48
4B1 – Inman River	1927 – 1932	2
4B2 – Stapyilton Bay	1921 – – – 1943	4
4B3 – Bernard Harbour	1916 – 1932	1
4B4 – Cape Krusenstern	1926 – 1946	5
4B5 – Basil Bay	1934 – 1938	1
4B6 – Richardson Bay	1935 – 1938	1
4B7 – Coppermine	1928 – present	2
4B8 – Asiatic River	1926 – 1930	2
4B9 – Kugaryuak River	1927 – 1940	2
4B10 – Tree River	1917 – 1929	2
4B11 – Agiak	1917 – 1918	1
4B12 – Detention Harbour	1927 – 1928	1
4B13 – Kater Point	1927 – 1929	1
4B14 – Banks Peninsula	1926 – 1937	2
4B15 – Arctic Sound	1931 – 1934	1
4B16 – Hood River	1936 – 1941	1
4B17 – Burnside River	1930 – 1964	1

TABLE 7 – Trading Sites in the Arctic Coast Region (cont'd)

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated¹	Number of posts
4B18 – Western River	1925 – 1927	1
4B19 – Baychimo Harbour	1964 – 1970	1
4B20 – Kent Peninsula	1920 – 1927	1
4B21 – Wilmot Islands	1925 – 1941	1
4B22 – Richardson Island	1926 – – – 1943	3
4B23 – “Mackenzie River”, Victoria Island	1946 – 1948	1
4B24 – Rymer Point	1919 – – – 1936	2
4B25 – Read Island	1929 – 1962	4
4B26 – “Alaervik”, Prince Albert Sound	1923 – 1928	1
4B27 – Holman	1939 – present	1
4B28 – Walker Bay	1928 – 1939	2
SUBREGION 4C: QUEEN MAUD		19
4C1 – Cambridge Bay	1923 – – – present	3
4C2 – Ellice River	1926 – 1927	1
4C3 – White Bear Point	1926 – 1927	1
4C4 – Perry River	1926 – 1967	4
4C5 – Sherman Inlet	1947 – 1955	1
4C6 – Terror Bay	1940 – 1944	1
4C7 – Simpson Strait	1923 – 1927	1
4C8 – Gjoa Haven	1927 – present	2
4C9 – Spence Bay	1949 – present	1
4C10 – Oscar Bay	1928 – 1930	1
4C11 – Pelly Bay	1947? – – – present	3
Total fur trade posts in region		107

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 4A: BEAUFORT

4A1 — Demarcation Point, Y.T.

Probably on south side of small lagoon at 69° 37' N, 140° 58' W.

4A1-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1921 — 1924	HBC
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Gall.</i>		

4A2 — Herschel Island, Y.T.

At Pauline Cove, 69° 34' N, 138° 55' W.

4A2-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1915 — 1938	HBC
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 2—PAC-4157.</i>		

4A3 — Shingle Point, Y.T.

West end of sandpit, 69° 00' N, 137° 28' W.

4A3-1	H. Liebes & Co.	1917 — 1921	OC
	<i>Source: 2—PAC-32, 6—HBC (EMR), 7—Stefansson.</i>		
4A3-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1920 — 1928	HBC
	Possibly an outpost of Aklavik.		
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 2—PAC-4157, 6—HBC (EMR).</i>		

4A4 — Kendall Island

South side, at 69° 28' N, 135° 20' W.

4A4-1	Anuktuk, Dennis	1913 — 1928	Nat.
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 2—PAC-5719, 5—Semmler.</i>		

4A5 — Kittigazuit

69° 21' N, 133° 41' W.

4A5-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1912 — 1934	HBC
	Outpost of Aklavik.		
	Moved to Tuktoyaktuk.		
	<i>Source: 1—IAND, 5—Marander, 6—HBC (EMR).</i>		
4A5-2	Northern Traders Ltd.	c. 1917? — 1922	NT
	<i>Source: 2—PAC-36, 42.</i>		
4A5-3	H. Liebes and Co.	1917 — 1921	OC
	<i>Source: 1—PAC-32, 6—HBC (EMR).</i>		
4A5-4	Day, William	1931 — 1934	Nat.
	<i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>		
4A5-5	Hatting, Bill	1939 — 1940	Ind.
	<i>Source: 4—Wood, 5—Marander.</i>		

4A6 — Tuktoyaktuk

4A6-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1934 — present	HBC
	Moved from Kittigazuit.		
	Originally named Port Brabant.		
	<i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>		

4A6-2	Canalaska Trading Co. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5765.</i>	1938 – 1939	CTC
4A6-3	Ross, W.W. Outpost. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5652.</i>	1943 – 1947	Ind.
4A6-4	Semmler, L.F. Outpost. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1943 – 1949	Ind.
4A6-5	Tuk Traders Ltd. (George Clark) <i>Source: 1-NWT, 5-Roska.</i>	1962 – 1965	Ind.
4A6-6	Polar Arc Management Ltd. (David Anderson) Business continued after 1966 but did not trade for fur. <i>Source: 1-NWT, TFRB, 5-Roska.</i>	1965 – 1966	Ind.

4A7 – Atkinson Point

On north (ocean) side at 69° 57' N, 131° 26' W.

4A7-1	Andreasen, Ole <i>Source: 2-PAC-5657, 5-Semmler.</i>	1921? – 1933	Ind.
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4A8 – Kugaluk River

App. 69° 05' N, 130° 54' W. Exact location unknown.

4A8-1	Ostergarde, A. & Williams, O. <i>Source: 2-PAC-4157, 5-Marander.</i>	1922 – 1926	Ind.
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4A8-2	Echternach, G. & Matthews, F. Operated by Fred Matthews 1935-37. Sold to HBC, 4A8-3. <i>Source: 2-PAC-6560, 4-Copland.</i>	1930 – 1937	Ind.
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4A8-3	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Tuktoyaktuk. Purchased from Echternach & Matthews, 4A8-2. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Copland, 5-Barry.</i>	1937 – 1939	HBC
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4A9 – Confluence of Anderson and Carnwath Rivers

Locally known as Anderson Forks. On right bank of
Anderson above forks at 68° 25' N, 128° 50' W.

4A9-1	Ostergarde, A. & Williams, O. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5748, 5-Marander.</i>	1926 – 1929	Ind.
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- 4A9-2 Tuk Traders Ltd. 1963 – 1964 Ind.
 Outpost of Tuktoyaktuk.
 Also known as Slavey Lakes post.
 Source: 1–NWT, 5–Barry.
- 4A10 – Anderson River, mouth**
 Two miles east of mouth at 69° 44' N, 128° 52' W.
 4A10-1 Ostergarde, A. & Williams, O. 1918 – 1922 Ind.
 Source: 2–PAC-5748, 5–Barry, Marander.
- 4A11 – Stanton**
 Incorrectly located on current maps. Should be at 69° 48' N, 128° 42' W.
 4A11-1 Roman Catholic Episcopal 1942 – 1954 M
 Corporation of Mackenzie
 Source: 1–IAND
- 4A12 – Nicholson Island**
 On southeast corner, 69° 50' N, 128° 56' W.
 4A12-1 Nannengaksek, Bennet 1927 – 1929 Nat.
 Traded on behalf of HBC, Baillie Island.
 Source: 2–PAC-6124, 5–Barry.
- 4A13 – Maitland Point**
 70° 08' N, 128° 15' W.
 4A13-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1939 – 1941 HBC
 Moved from Baillie Island.
 Source: 1–IAND
- 4A14 – Cape Bathurst**
 70° 34' N, 128° 00' W.
 4A14-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1916 – 1939 HBC
 This post was commonly known as Baillie
 Island, although it was located on Cape
 Bathurst sandspit on the mainland.
 Moved to Maitland Point.
 Source: 1–IAND.
- 4A15 – Horton River**
 On sandspit one half mile north of mouth, at 69° 59' N, 126° 53' W.
 4A15-1 Wolki, Fritz c. 1918? – 1921 Ind.
 Transferred to Wyant, 4A15-2.
 Source: 5–Marander.
- 4A15-2 Wyant, E.W. 1921 – 1931 Ind.
 Transferred from Wolki, 4A15-1.
 Operated on behalf of HBC, 1929–31.
 Source: 2–PAC-5649, 4–Gall.

4A16 – Tom Cod Bay

App. 69° 42' N, 124° 50' W. Exact location of post unknown.

4A16-1	Day, William	1927? – 1930?	Nat.
	Operated on behalf of HBC.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Gall.		

4A17 – Cape Parry

4A17-1	Northern Traders Ltd.	1918? – 1920?	NT
	Exact location unknown.		
	<i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-36, 7-Chipman.		

4A17-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1959 – 1967	HBC
	At Cape Parry Settlement 70° 09' N, 124° 29' W.		
	Moved from Letty Harbour.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4A18 – Letty Harbour

69° 51' N, 124° 24' W.

4A18-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1927 – 1936	HBC
	Outpost of Baillie Island.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4A18-2	Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Mackenzie	1928 – 1942	M
	Moved to Paulatuk.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4A18-3	Hudson's Bay Co.	1954 – 1959	HBC
	Outpost of Read Island.		
	Moved to Cape Parry.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4A19 – Paulatuk

69° 21' N, 124° 04' W.

4A19-1	Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Mackenzie	1942 – 1954	M
	Moved from Letty Harbour.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4A19-2	Paulatuk Coop. Assoc. Ltd.	1967 – present	Coop.
	<i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.		

4A20 – Pearce Point

On sandspit in inner harbour, 69° 49' N, 122°, 42' W.

4A20-1	DeStefanny, Gus & Lyman	1922? – 1924?	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 2-PAC-4157, 7-Rasmussen.		

4A20-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Baillie Island. Closed 1929-30. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Finnie.</i>	1927 – 1934	HBC
4A21 – Sachs Harbour			
4A21-1	Carpenter, Fred <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1958 – present	Nat.

SUBREGION 4B: CORONATION

4B1 – Inman River

At mouth, 69° 08' N, 118° 28' W.

4B1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Baillie Island. Not operated summer 1927. Closed in favour of Pearce Point. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Beaver.</i>	1926 – 1932	HBC
4B1-2	Brockie, John & Brackett, Redmond <i>Source: 2-PAC-5709.</i>	1927 – 1930	Ind.

4B2 – Stapylton Bay

At mouth of "Anderson Creek", 68° 48' N, 116° 00' W.

Anderson Creek is a local name with no official status.

4B2-1	Anderson, Martin <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-4157.</i>	1921 – 1923	Ind.
4B2-2	Watson & Purcell <i>Source: 1-PAC-5681, 5-Semmler.</i>	1931 – 1939	Ind
4B2-3	Semmler, L.F. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1930 – 1932	Ind.
4B2-4	Storr, William <i>Source: 2-PAC-11057, 5-Semmler.</i>	1939 – 1943	Ind.

4B3 – Bernard Harbour

Northwest side, 68° 46' N, 114° 46' W.

4B3-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Originally called Fort Thompson. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-4157.</i>	1916 – 1932	HBC
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4B4 – Cape Krusenstern

68° 23' N, 113° 54' W.

4B4-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Post known as Fort Hearne. Closed in favour of Coppermine. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1926 – 1929	HBC
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4B4-2	Klengenberg, Lena <i>Source: 2-PAC-5683.</i>	1926 – 1936	Nat.
4B4-3	Seymour, William Sold to CTC, 4B4-4. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5658.</i>	1927 – 1932	Ind.
4B4-4	Canalaska Trading Co. Outpost of Read Island. Purchased from Seymour, 4B4-3. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5765, 5-Semmler.</i>	1932 – 1934	CTC
4B4-5	Semmler, L.F. Outpost 1935-38. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1932 – 1946	Ind.
4B5 – Basil Bay			
West end, 68° 17' N, 115° 00' W.			
4B5-1	Semmler, L.F. Outpost. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1934 – 1938	Ind.
4B6 – Richardson Bay			
At confluence of Rae and Richardson Rivers, 67° 55' N, 155° 32' W.			
4B6-1	Semmler, L.F. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1935 – 1938	Ind.
4B7 – Coppermine			
4B7-1	Klengenberg, Christian Acted as agent for Northern Trading Co. <i>Source: 2-PAC-36, 7-Hoare.</i>	1916 – 1923	Ind.
4B7-2	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1928 – present	HBC
4B8 – Asiatic River			
At mouth, 67° 46' N, 114° 25' W. Also known locally as West Kugaryuak River.			
4B8-1	Morris, O.D. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5764.</i>	1926 – 1928	Ind.
4B8-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Tree River. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1927 – 1930	HBC

4B9 – Kugaryuak River

One half mile above mouth on right bank, 67° 42' N, 113° 17' W.

Also known locally as East or Little Kugaryuak River.

4B9–1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1927 – 1940	HBC
	Outpost of Tree River, 1927–1928, outpost of Coppermine, 1929–1937.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 4–Gall, Learmonth.		

4B9–2	Craig, Watson, Purcell, & Daigle	1927 – 1930	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5681.		

4B10 – Tree River

In harbour mouth at app. 67° 42' N, 111° 57' W.

4B10–1	Northern Traders Ltd.	1917 – 1918	NT
	Post known as Fort Epworth.		
	Sold to HBC, 4B10–2.		
	<i>Source:</i> 7–Hoare.		

4B10–2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1918 – 1929	HBC
	Post known as Fort Epworth.		
	Purchased from NTC, 4B10–1.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 2–PAC–4157.		

4B11 – Agiak, Gray's Bay

Although not shown on current maps, Agiak is the official name of the headland at 67° 50' N, 111° 14' W.

Exact location of post unknown.

4B11–1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1917 – 1918	HBC
	Closed in favour of Tree River.		
	<i>Source:</i> 5–Toponymy Division, 7–Hoare.		

4B12 – Detention Harbour

App. 67° 53' N, 109° 58' W, exact location of post unknown.

4B12–1	Canalaska Trading Co.	1927 – 1928	CTC
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5765.		

4B13 – Kater Point

67° 43' N, 109° 02' W.

4B13–1	Watson, A.W.	1927 – 1929	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5681.		

4B14 – Banks Peninsula

4B14–1	Canalaska Trading Co.	1926 – 1937	CTC
	Northeast side, Banks Peninsula, 67° 26' N, 108° 30' W.		
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5765, 8–H 3/702–1930.		

4B14-2	Hudson's Bay Co. North east side, Banks Peninsula, 67° 30' N, 108° 30' W. Known as Bathurst Inlet Post. Moved from Western River. Moved to Burnside River. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 8-H3/702-1930.</i>	1927 – 1930	HBC
4B15 – Arctic Sound			
	“Seven miles south of Wollaston Point”. Exact location unknown.		
4B15-1	Goose, Tommy <i>Source: 2-PAC-6893.</i>	1931 – 1934	Nat.
4B16 – Hood River			
	Possibly south of mouth, in Baillie Bay at 67° 22' N, 108° 51' W.		
4B16-1	Leonard, Ingwall <i>Source: 2-PAC-7913.</i>	1936 – 1941	Ind.
4B17 – Burnside River			
	Former site of Bathurst Inlet settlement, 66° 45' N, 108° 02' W.		
4B17-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Arctic Sound. Moved to Baychimo Harbour. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1930 – 1964	HBC
4B18 – Western River			
	Near mouth, app. 66° 20' N, 107° 10' W.		
4B18-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved to east side of Western River in 1926, about three miles from mouth. Known as Bathurst Inlet post. Moved to Arctic Sound. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 6-HBC (EMR).</i>	1925 – 1927	HBC
4B19 – Baychimo Harbour Settlement			
	67° 42' N, 107° 55' W.		
4B19-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Known as Bathurst Inlet post. Moved from Burnside River. <i>Source: 1-NWT.</i>	1964 – 1970	HBC

4B20 – Kent Peninsula

In small harbour immediately east of Parry Bay, app.

68° 17' N, 107° 11' W. Exact location unknown.

4B20-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1920 – 1927	HBC
	Closed in favour of Cambridge Bay.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 2-PAC-4157, 4-Gall, Learmonth, 7-Hoare.		

4B21 – Wilmot Islands

On west side of main Island, app. 68° 12' N, 109° 06' W.

4B21-1	Klengenberg, Patrick	1925 – 1941	Nat.
	<i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5683, 4-Gall, 5-Copland.		

4B22 – Richardson Island

Southwest side at 68° 27' N, 110° 58' W.

4B22-1	Norberg, Peter	1926 – 1930	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 5-Semmler.		

4B22-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1933 – 1938	HBC
	Outpost of Coppermine.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Semmler, 7-Beaver.		

4B22-3	Andreason, Ole	1933 – 1943	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 2-PAC-5657, 4-Learmonth.		

4B23 – "Mackenzie River", Victoria Island

On left bank at mouth of a small channel entering the east side of an unnamed harbour on Victoria Island immediately north of Richardson Island, at 68° 35' N, 110° 58' W. Mackenzie River is a local name with no official status.

4B23-1	Semmler, L.F.	1946 – 1948	Ind.
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.		

4B24 – Rymer Point

On north side at 69° 02' N, 113° 37' W.

4B24-1	Bolt, Etna Klengenberg	1919 – 1936	Nat.
	Closed 1928 – 1932.		
	Originally established by Chris Klengenberg.		
	Operated after 1920 in the name of his daughter Etna, and subsequently by her husband, Ikey Bolt.		
	<i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-5683, 5820, 7-Klengenberg.		

4B24-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 – 1928	HBC
	Post known as Fort Harmon.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

4B25 – Read Island

On northeast side at 69° 12' N, 113° 50' W.

4B25-1	Craig and Daigle Sold to CTC, 4B25-3. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5765, 4-Learmonth.</i>	1929 – 1931	
4B25-2	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1931 – 1962	HBC
4B25-3	Canalaska Trading Co. Purchased from Craig & Daigle, 4B25-1. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5765, 4-Learmonth.</i>	1931 – 1938	CTC
4B25-4	Semmler, L.F. Outpost. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>	1938 – 1948	Ind.

4B26 – "Alaervik", Prince Albert Sound.

Left bank of unnamed river entering Prince Albert Sound at 70° 39' N, 113° 32' W. Alaervik is a local name with no official status.

4B26-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Post known as Fort Brabant. Moved to Walker Bay. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1923 – 1928	HBC
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4B27 – Holman

4B27-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Walker Bay. Site of Holman moved from east side of King's Bay about one mile west to head of unnamed bay in 1965. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1939 – present	HBC
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4B28 – Walker Bay

4B28-1	Hudson's Bay Co. 71° 37' N, 117° 52' W. Post known as Fort Collinson. Moved from Prince Albert Sound. Moved to Holman. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1928 – 1939	HBC
4B28-2	Canalaska Trading Co. Possibly located in harbour at 71° 36' N, 117° 55' W. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5765.</i>	1932 – 1938	CTC

SUBREGION 4C: QUEEN MAUD

4C1 — Cambridge Bay

4C1-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1923 — present	HBC
	Operated as small outpost of HBC Kent Peninsula by an Eskimo from 1920 to 1923. Moved one mile to present site in 1934. Closed 1925-27. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Gall, Learmonth, 7-Beaver.</i>		
4C1-2	Canalaska Trading Co.	1927 — 1938	CTC
	<i>Source: 2-PAC-5765.</i>		
4C1-3	Semmler, L.F.	1939 — 1943	Ind.
	<i>Source: 1-IAND, 5-Semmler.</i>		

4C2 — Ellice River,

On right bank, at mouth, app. 68°02' N, 103°58' W.

4C2-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 — 1927	HBC
	<i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Learmonth.</i>		

4C3 — White Bear Point

68°10' N, 103°25' W. Exact location of post unknown.

4C3-1	Canalaska Trading Co.	1926 — 1927	CTC
	<i>Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-5765, 4-Gall.</i>		

4C4 — Perry River

4C4-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 — 1928	HBC
	Right bank app. two miles from mouth, 67°41' N, 102°10' W. <i>Source: 1-IAND, 7-Abrahamson et. al.</i>		
4C4-2	Angulalik, Stephen	1928 — 1957	Nat.
	On Flagstaff Island, 67°43' N, 102°17' W. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>		
4C4-3	Hudson's Bay Co.	1937 — 1941	HBC
	On Flagstaff Island, 67°43' N, 102°17' W. <i>Source: 1-IAND, FETR, 7-Beaver.</i>		
4C4-4	Hudson's Bay Co.	1957 — 1967	HBC
	On Perry Island, 67°48' N, 102°34' W. <i>Source: 1-IAND, TFRB, 7-Abrahamson et. al.</i>		

4C5 — Sherman Inlet

On shallow bay west of mouth of Sherman Inlet, probably 68°04' N, 98°32' W.

4C5-1	Angulalik, Stephen	1947 — 1955	Nat.
	<i>Source: 1-IAND, 4-Learmonth.</i>		

4C6 – Terror Bay

On east shore of small inlet, 68° 56' N, 99° 04' W.

4C6-1	Patrick Klengenberg	1940 – 1944	Nat.
	Operated as outpost of HBC Cambridge Bay.		
	<i>Source:</i> 4–Learmonth.		

4C7 – Simpson Strait

On small bay north of Peabody Point on King William Island,
68° 33' N, 97° 18' W.

4C7-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1923 – 1927	HBC
	Post known as King William Island.		
	Moved to Gjoa Haven.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 4–Learmonth, 6–HBC (EMR).		

4C8 – Gjoa Haven (Peterson Bay)

4C8-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1927 – present	HBC
	Post known as King William Island.		
	Moved from Simpson Strait.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND.		

4C8-2	Canalaska Trading Co.	1927 – 1938	CTC
	Not in operation 1932 – 34 due to inability of supply schooner "Emma" to reach King William Island in 1932, and its subsequent loss in 1933.		
	<i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–5765.		

4C9 – Spence Bay

4C9-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1949 – present	HBC
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND.		

4C10 – Oscar Bay

West side at 69° 47' N, 95° 44' W.

4C10-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1928 – 1930	HBC
	<i>Source:</i> 4–Learmonth.		

4C11 – Pelly Bay

4C11-1	R.C. Mission	1947? – 1949?	M
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND.		

4C11-2	R.C. Mission	1957 – 1966	M
	<i>Source:</i> 1–IAND.		

4C11-3	Koomiut Coop. Assoc.	1966 – present	Coop.
	<i>Source:</i> 1–NWT, TFRB.		

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REGION FIVE
EASTERN ARCTIC

THE EASTERN ARCTIC REGION

British and American fleets whaled off the east coast of Baffin Island throughout the latter half of the 19th century. Many shore stations were maintained, particularly in Cumberland Sound, and some trade in furs was conducted at these sites as well. The establishment of posts specifically for the fur trade did not, however, occur until the 20th century. At first the trade was conducted by firms or individual captains formerly in the whaling business, often at traditional sites. Such places as Cape Haven, Blacklead Island and Kekerten were whaling stations long before trading posts were established there.

While ex-whalers were opening up the fur trade on the east coast of Baffin Island, the Hudson's Bay Company was penetrating new territory on the south coast. The Company extended its operations to eastern and northern Baffin early in the 1920s, and by 1925, with the withdrawal of several smaller whaling and trading companies, had obtained an effective monopoly throughout the Eastern Arctic.

A few ex-whalers remained in the region, trading on behalf of companies or in their own right, but there was no independent trade of any significance in the Eastern Arctic. This was due to the inaccessibility of the region, as well as to the fact that by 1926 all of it lay within the boundaries of the Arctic Islands Preserve. As on the Arctic Coast, the Department of the Interior tried to restrict post locations, and the withdrawal of the Hudson's Bay Company from Port Leopold and Arctic Bay in 1927, for example, was a result of this policy.

The Hudson's Bay Company had opened 23 posts in the region prior to 1940, but by the end of that year maintained only nine of these. As on the Arctic Coast, the initial heavy penetration was partly in response to competition, and partly a means of establishing trade relations with the Eskimos at a time when fur prices were high and the incremental costs of operating additional posts low. Once the company had established its clientele, and particularly with the decline of competition, rationalization of the trade could be effected.

Today the company maintains ten posts in the region, serving all the major settlements. The growth of co-operatives during the last decade has been significant however, and there are now six in the region which handle furs. Three are located in settlements also served by the Hudson's Bay Company, while the others are the only fur trade outlets in the small settlements of Port Burwell, Resolute and Grise Fiord.

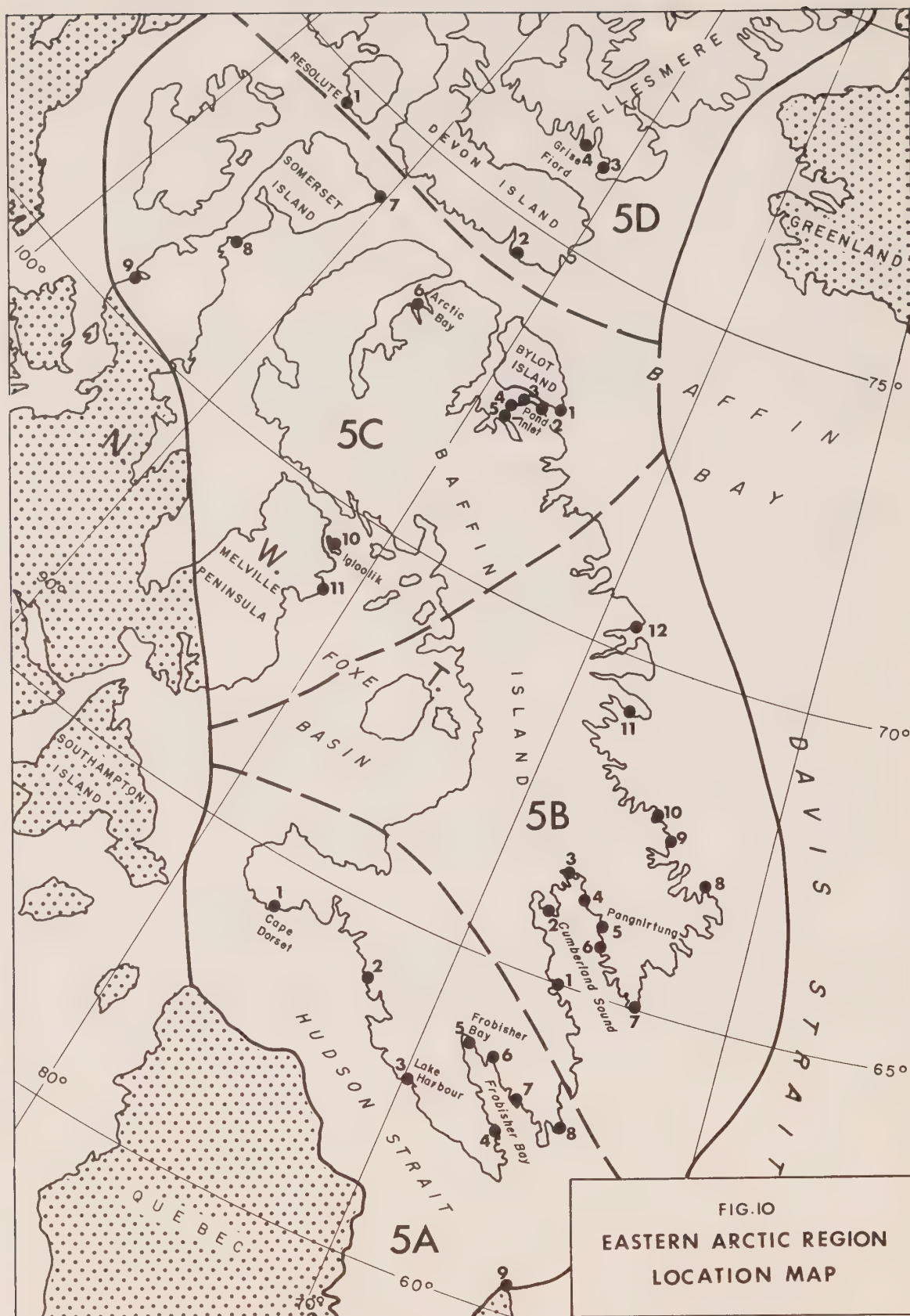


FIG.10
EASTERN ARCTIC REGION
LOCATION MAP

TABLE 8 — Trading Sites in the Eastern Arctic Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated ¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 5A: SOUTH BAFFIN		16
5A1 — Cape Dorset	1913 — present	3
5A2 — Amadjuak	1921 — 1934	1
5A3 — Lake Harbour	1911 — present	1
5A4 — Hall Bay	1914 — 1920	1
5A5 — Frobisher Bay	1948 — present	1
5A6 — Ward Inlet	1922 — 1948	1
5A7 — Mingoaktuk	1911? — 1927?	2
5A8 — Cape Haven	1911? — 1928?	.1
5A9 — Port Burwell	1895? — — — present	5
SUBREGION 5B: EAST BAFFIN		16
5B1 — Blacklead Island	1921 — 1936?	1
5B2 — Livingstone Fiord	1924 — 1925	1
5B3 — Sirmilling Bay	1921? — 1925?	1
5B4 — Oshualuk	1918 — 1933?	2
5B5 — Pangnirtung	1921 — present	1
5B6 — Kekerten	c. 1915? — 1925?	2
5B7 — Cape Mercy	1911? — 1928?	1
5B8 — Durban Harbour	c. 1910? — — — 1927?	3
5B9 — Broughton Island	1961 — present	1
5B10 — Kivitoo	1911? — 1926?	1
5B11 — Cape Henry Kater	1920 — 1927	1
5B12 — Clyde River	1923 — present	1
SUBREGION 5C: NORTH BAFFIN		18
5C1 — Button Point	1914 — 1923?	1
5C2 — Albert Harbour	1903 — — — 1923	3
5C3 — Pond Inlet	1921 — present	1
5C4 — Salmon River	1912? — 1919?	1
5C5 — “Tulukan”	1916 — 1920	1
5C6 — Arctic Bay	1926 — — — present	2
5C7 — Port Leopold	1926 — — — 1940	2
5C8 — Fort Ross	1937 — — — 1948	1
5C9 — Pasley Bay	1939 — 1940	1
5C10 — Igloodik	1939 — — — present	3
5C11 — Hall Beach	1965 — present	2
SUBREGION 5D: HIGH ARCTIC		6
5D1 — Resolute Bay	1953 — present	2
5D2 — Dundas Harbour	1934 — 1936	1

TABLE 8 – Trading Sites in the Eastern Arctic Region (cont'd)

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated¹	Number of posts
5D3 – Craig Harbour	1953 – 1957	1
5D4 – Grise Fiord	1957 – present	2
Total fur trade posts in region		56

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 5A: SOUTH BAFFIN

5A1 – Cape Dorset			
5A1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1-IAND.</i>	1913 – present	HBC
5A1-2	Baffin Trading Co. Ltd. <i>Source: 1-FETR, 2-PAC-10062, 5-Stevenson.</i>	1939 – 1948	OC
5A1-3	West Baffin Cooperative <i>Source: 1-NWT.</i>	1962 – present	Coop.
5A2 – Amadjuak			
64° 02' N, 72° 39' W.			
5A2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: IAND.</i>	1921 – 1934	HBC
5A3 – Lake Harbour			
5A3-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 6-HBC (EMR).</i>	1911 – present	HBC
5A4 – Hall Bay			
On north side of Charles Francis Hall Bay, at app. 62° 39' N, 66° 43' W.			
5A4-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Lake Harbour. Moved to Mingoaktuk. <i>Source: 4-Learmonth, 5-Copland.</i>	1914 – 1920	HBC
5A5 – Frobisher Bay			
5A5-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Ward Inlet. <i>Source: 1-NWT, 5-Stevenson.</i>	1948 – present	HBC
5A6 – Ward Inlet			
At the head of Cormack Bay, 63° 28' N, 67° 22' W.			
5A6-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Mingoaktuk. Moved to Frobisher Bay. <i>Source: 4-Learmonth, 5-Copland, Stevenson.</i>	1922 – 1948	HBC
5A7 – "Mingoaktuk", Hamlen Bay			
A former Eskimo camp in the vicinity of 63° 00' N, 66° 30' W, exact location unknown. Mingoaktuk a local name with no official status.			
5A7-1	Sabellum Trading Co. <i>Source: 2-PAC-5648, 7-Millward, 8-H1/702-1926, H1/702-1929.</i>	1911? – 1927?	OC

5A7-2	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Hall Bay. Moved to Ward Inlet. <i>Source: 4—Learmonth, 5—Copland.</i>	1920 – 1922	HBC
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5A8 — Cape Haven

In harbour at 62°55' N, 64°35' W.

5A8-1	Sabellum Trading Co. Post also known as Singiyah. <i>Source: 2—PAC-5648, 5—Copland, 7—Fleming.</i>	1911? – 1927?	OC
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5A9 — Port Burwell

5A9-1	Blandford, Capt. <i>Source: 7—Bernier (1909).</i>	1895? – 1903?	Ind.
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5A9-2	Job Bros. <i>Source: 3—RCMP, 7—Bernier (1909).</i>	1903? – 1904?	OC
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5A9-3	Moravian Mission Sold to HBC, 5A9-4. <i>Source: 3—RCMP, 7—Jenness, Munn.</i>	1904 – 1924	M
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5A9-4	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 5—Stevenson, 6—HBC (EMR).</i>	1916 – 1939	HBC
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5A9-5	Kikitaoyak Eskimo Coop. <i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>	1960 – present	Coop.
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SUBREGION 5B: EAST BAFFIN

5B1 — Blacklead Island

64°59' N, 66°11' W.

5B1-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost. Operated intermittently. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 7—Haller.</i>	1921 – 1936?	HBC
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5B2 — Livingston Fiord, Cumberland Sound

App. 65°57' N, 67°46' W, exact location of post unknown.

Also known locally as Kangertukjuk Fiord or Karneetookjuak.

5B2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 3—RCMP, 7—Haller.</i>	1924 – 1925	HBC
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5B3 — Sirmilling Bay, Cumberland Sound

App. 66°37' N, 67°19' W, exact location unknown. Location formerly referred to as Kingua Fiord. This is a local name with no official status, but appears on the 1929 Dept. Interior map. On the same map, on the north side of the Fiord, is marked a place called Issortukdjuak, at which this post may have been located.

- 5B3-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1921? – 1925? HBC
Source: 1-IAND, 7-Foote, Haller,
8-H1/702-1929.
- 5B4 – “Oshualuk”, Cumberland Sound**
66°18' N, 66°29' W. Oshualuk is a local name with no official status.
- 5B4-1 Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate 1918 – 1923 OC
Also known as Ooho-Arlo Station.
Sold to HBC, 5B4-2.
Source: 1-PAC-49, 4-Copland, 7-Millward,
Munn.
- 5B4-2 Hudson's Bay Co. 1923 – 1933? HBC
Outpost of Pangnirtung.
Purchased from Arctic Gold Exploration
Syndicate, 5B4-1
Source: 1-IAND, 2-PAC-5648, 7-Millward, Munn.
- 5B5 – Pangnirtung**
- 5B5-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1921 – present HBC
Originally known as Netchelik post.
Location originally intended for Netilling Fiord.
Source: 1-IAND, 4-Copland, 7-Canada (Dept.
Interior), Haller.
- 5B6 – Kekerten, Cumberland Sound**
65°42' N, 65°49' W.
- 5B6-1 Robert Kinnes & Co. c. 1915? – 1923 OC
Sold to HBC, 5B6-2.
Source: 7-Munn.
- 5B6-2 Hudson's Bay Co. 1923 – 1925? HBC
Purchased from Kinnes, 5B6-1.
Source: 3-RCMP, 7-Foote, Haller, Munn.
- 5B7 – Cape Mercy**
North of Cape Mercy in unnamed bay at 65°02' N, 63°30' W,
exact location unknown.
- 5B7-1 Sabellum Trading Co. 1911? – 1927? OC
Source: 2-PAC-5648, 7-Haller, Millward.
- 5B8 – Durban Harbour (Padle)**
66°59' N, 62°37' W.
- 5B8-1 Robert Kinnes & Co. c. 1910? – 1914 OC
Source: 7-Munn.
- 5B8-2 Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate 1914 – 1916 OC
Source: 7-Munn.

since at least 1909, being used only as a storage depot after that
Source: 7—Bernier (1909), Mathiassen, Munn.

5C2-2 Bernier, J.E. 1912 – 1919 Ind.
 Mathiassen states that Bernier purchased this post from Mutch (Kinnes—5C2-1), but Munn implies that Bernier purchased the station he had erected for the Dominion government in 1910. Sold to Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate, 5C2-3.
Source: 7—Bernier (n.d.), Mathiassen, Munn.

5C2-3 Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate 1919 – 1923 OC
 Purchased from Bernier, 5C2-2.
 Sold to HBC and closed by them in favour of Pond Inlet.
Source: 2—PAC-49, 7—Mathiassen, Munn.

5C3 — Pond Inlet

5C3-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1921 – present HBC
 Originally known as Mitimatalik post.
Source: 1—IAND, 7—Mathiassen.

5C4 — Salmon River

At mouth, 72°40' N, 78°04' W.

5C4-1 Bernier, J.E. 1912? – 1919? Ind.
 House erected here by Bernier in 1910, probably purchased from Dominion government in 1912.
 Sold to Munn and apparently closed by him, probably in favour of Albert Harbour, 5C2-3.
Source: 7—Mathiassen, Munn.

5C5 — "Tulukan", Eclipse Sound

App. 72°32' N, 78°30' W., exact location unknown. Tulukan a local name with no official status.

5C5-1 Janes, R. 1916 – 1920 Ind.
Source: 7—Mathiassen.

5C6 — Arctic Bay

5C6-1 Hudson's Bay Co. 1926 – 1927 HBC
 Post known as Tukik (Sun).
Source: 1—IAND, 4—Mitchell.

5C6-2 Hudson's Bay Co. 1936 – present HBC
Source: 1—IAND.

5C7 – Port Leopold				
73° 50' N, 90° 17' W.				
5C7-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1926 – 1927	HBC	
	Post known as Sikinik (Moon).			
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Stevenson.			
5C7-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1937 – 1940	HBC	
	Outpost of Fort Ross.			
	<i>Source:</i> 4-Learmonth.			
5C8 – Fort Ross				
72° 00' N, 94° 05' W.				
5C8-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1937 – 1948	HBC	
	Closed 1943-44.			
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.			
5C9 – Pasley Bay				
Small island at entrance of middle arm, 70° 36' N, 96° 03' W.				
5C9-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1939 – 1940	HBC	
	Outpost of Fort Ross.			
	<i>Source:</i> 4-Learmonth.			
5C10 – Igloolik				
5C10-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1939 – present	HBC	
	Closed 1943-47, due to unfavourable ice conditions.			
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Rowley, 7-Crowe.			
5C10-2	R.C. Mission	1947? – 1949?	M	
	Had apparently operated sporadically for some years prior to its establishment.			
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 4-Mitchell.			
5C10-3	Igloolik Eskimo Coop.	1965 – present	Coop.	
	<i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.			
5C11 – Hall Beach				
5C11-1	Igloolik Eskimo Coop.	1965 – present	Coop.	
	<i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.			
5C11-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1967 – present	HBC	
	<i>Source:</i> 1-NWT.			

SUBREGION 5D: HIGH ARCTIC

5D1 — Resolute Bay

5D1-1	Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources Operated under the name of Sudlavenich (E9-1765) <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Stevenson	1953 — 1961	Govt.
5D1-2	Resolute Bay Coop. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1961 — present	Coop.

5D2 — Dundas Harbour, Devon Island.

	74° 31' N, 82° 25' W.		
5D2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Closed in favour of Arctic Bay. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 7-Adams.	1934 — 1936	HBC

5D3 — Craig Harbour

	76° 12' N, 81° 01' W.		
5D3-1	Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources Operated under the name of Fatty (E9-713). <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Stevenson.	1953 — 1957	Govt.

5D4 — Grise Fiord

5D4-1	Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources Operated under the name of Thomassie (E9-1589). <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND, 5-Stevenson.	1957 — 1961	Govt.
5D4-2	Grise Fiord Coop. <i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.	1961 — present	Coop.

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REGION SIX

KEEWATIN

THE KEEWATIN REGION

Whaling vessels, mainly from the United States, operated in the northern part of Hudson Bay during the late 19th century. Unlike the whalers on Baffin Island, however, they did not play a prominent role in the transition to the fur trade in the early 20th century.¹ That task was left to the Hudson's Bay Company, which opened its first post in the region at Chesterfield Inlet in 1911. From here, the company branched out westward to Baker Lake in 1914, northward to Repulse Bay in 1920, and southward to Eskimo Point in 1921.

The Company at first enjoyed a monopoly position, but opposition soon arose, chiefly from two quarters. The French firm of Revillon Frères, which had already established posts along the Ungava Coast, maintained several posts on the Keewatin Coast and in the southern interior between 1924 and 1936, while during the same period, several independent trader-trappers were also active in the southern interior. The independents came north through Churchill or overland via Brochet, Manitoba, while most of the Revillon posts were supplied by sea. A few independents remained in the interior until about 1950, but the Hudson's Bay Company has maintained an effective monopoly in the region since 1936.

As in other Arctic regions, the company opened numerous posts in the early stages of the trade, but in the Keewatin, rationalization came somewhat later, with most of the company's closures occurring between 1948 and 1960. Of the nine posts presently operating in the region, seven are maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company, while the other two are co-operative stores.

¹The whalers in Hudson Bay were not unaware of the value of furs, and some conducted shipboard trade. There were also some temporary shore stations established for the combined purpose of whaling and trading, such as those operated by Cleveland in Wager Bay and Murray on Southampton Island around the turn of the century. These have not been included here however, as on balance they would appear to fall outside our definition of fur trade posts.



FIG. 11
KEEWATIN REGION
LOCATION MAP

TABLE 9 – Trading Sites in the Keewatin Region

Location	Years during which fur trade posts operated¹	Number of posts
SUBREGION 6A: ESKIMO POINT – NUEL TIN		14
6A1 – Eskimo Point	1921 – present	1
6A2 – Maguse River	1938 – 1950	1
6A3 – Tavani	1928? – 1951	2
6A4 – Whale Cove	1963 – present	1
6A5 – Maguse Lake	1925 – 1926	1
6A6 – Padlei	1926 – 1960	1
6A7 – Tha-anne River	1940 – 1949	1
6A8 – Smith Bay	1928 – 1930	1
6A9 – Windy River	1940 – 1950	1
6A10 – Simons Lake	1928 – 1933	1
6A11 – Red River	1926? – 1941	2
6A12 – Windy Lake	1928 – 1936	1
SUBREGION 6B: BAKER – SOUTHAMPTON		17
6B1 – Rankin Inlet	1957 – present	1
6B2 – Chesterfield Inlet	1911 – present	2
6B3 – Baker Lake	1924 – present	3
6B4 – Big Hips Island	1914? – 1926	1
6B5 – Baker Lake Narrows	1920 – 1922	1
6B6 – Fullerton Harbour	1913 – 1919	1
6B7 – Wager Bay	1926 – 1947	1
6B8 – Bury Cove	1919 – 1920	1
6B9 – Repulse Bay	1920 – present	3
6B10 – Coral Harbour	1916 – – – present	2
6B11 – Coats Island	1918 – – – 1928	1
SUBREGION 6C: HUDSON BAY		5
6C1 – Mansel Island	c. 1925? – 1949	1
6C2 – Cape Smith	1924 – 1952	1
6C3 – Belchers, southeast side	1928 – 1937	2
6C4 – Belchers, Tukarak Island	1937 – present	1
Total fur trade posts in region		36

¹ Three dashes between dates indicate discontinuous operation.

SUBREGION 6A: PADLEI – ESKIMO POINT

6A1 – Eskimo Point

6A1–1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source:</i> 6–Smith.	1921 – present	HBC
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6A2 – Maguse River

Right bank, at mouth, 61° 17'N, 94° 04'W.			
6A2–1	Sigurdson, Oscar Operated by Sigurdson and Martin 1942 – 1949. <i>Source:</i> 2–PAC–8344, 5–Russell.	1938 – 1950	Ind.

6A3 – Tavani

62° 04'N, 93° 06'W.			
6A3–1	Revillon Freres Sold to HBC, 6A3–2. <i>Source:</i> 1–FETR, 2–PAC–31, 5676, 5–Ducharme, Russell, 6–Smith	1928? – 1931	RF
6A3–2	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Chesterfield until 1935. <i>Source:</i> 6–HBC (EMR).	1929 – 1951	HBC

6A4 – Whale Cove

6A4–1	Issatik Eskimo Coop. <i>Source:</i> 1–NWT.	1963 – present	Coop.
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6A5 – Maguse Lake

Possibly at mouth of small river entering north end of Maguse Lake, at 61° 50'N, 95° 20'W.			
6A5–1	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Eskimo Point. Moved to Padlei. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 4–Brown, Learmonth, 6–Smith.	1925 – 1926	HBC

6A6 – Padlei

61° 52'N, 96° 40'W.			
6A6–1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved from Maguse Lake. <i>Source:</i> 1–IAND, 4–Brown.	1926 – 1960	HBC

6A7 – Tha-anne River, headwaters

Approximate location unknown. Possibly near South Henik Lake at 61° 04'N, 97° 12'W.			
6A7–1	Sigurdson, Oscar, and Martin. <i>Source:</i> 1–FETR, 2–PAC–8344.	1940 – 1949	Ind.

6A8 – Smith Bay, Nueltin Lake

App. 60° 29'N, 99° 36'W.

6A8-1	Smith, Irwin	1928 – 1930	Ind.
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Source: 2–PAC–6028, 5–Smith, 7–Downes.

6A9 – Windy River

Left bank, at mouth, 60° 37'N, 99° 56'W.

6A9-1	Schweder, Frederick	1940 – 1950	Ind.
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Operated by Charles Schweder after 1947.
Source: 2–PAC–11613, 7–Harper (1955).

6A10– Simons Lake

In small bay at south end, 60° 34'N, 100° 08'W.

6A10-1	Simons, D.E.	1928 – 1933	Ind.
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Post may have originally been located on Windy Lake, and moved to this location at an unknown date.
Source: 1–FETR, 2–PAC–5671, 7–Harper (1955, 1964).

6A11– Red River

At mouth, 60° 33'N, 100° 11'W.

6A11-1	Revillon Freres	1926? – 1936	RF
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Outpost of Brochet, Man.
 Originally established on the Manitoba shore of Nueltin Lake, at the mouth of the Putahow River, in 1922, and moved to this location about 1926.
 Sold to HBC, 6A11-2.
Source: 2–PAC–31, 5676, 7–Birket-Smith, Downes Harper (1955, 1964).

6A11-2	Hudson's Bay Co.	1936 – 1941	HBC
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Purchased from RF, 6A11-1.
Source: 1–IAND, Harper (1955, 1964).

6A12– Windy Lake

On northeast side, app. 60° 25'N, 100° 08'W.

6A12-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1928 – 1936	HBC
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Source: 1–IAND, 7–Downes, Harper (1955, 1964).

SUBREGION 6B: BAKER-SOUTHAMPTON**6B1 – Rankin Inlet**

6B1-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1957 – present	HBC
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Source: 1–IAND.

6B2 — Chesterfield Inlet				
6B2-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 3—RCMP.</i>	1911 — present	HBC	
6B2-2	Lamson & Hubbard <i>Source: 2—PAC-35, 2160, 4—Learmonth.</i>	1920 — 1922	L&H	
6B3 — Baker Lake				
6B3-1	Revillon Freres <i>Source: 2—PAC-31, 5676.</i>	1924 — 1936	RF	
6B3-2	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 4—Learmonth.</i>	1925 — present	HBC	
6B3-3	Ramey and Patterson <i>Source: 1—NWT.</i>	1961 — 1962	Ind.	
6B4 — Baker Lake, Big Hips Island				
64°07'N, 95°40'W. Site known as Willow Island or Orpiktuajok Island. Big Hips is a rough translation of the latter. Exact location of post unknown.				
6B4-1	Hudson's Bay Co. Closed in favour of Baker Lake. <i>Source: 4—Brown, Copland, Learmonth, 7—Mathiassen (1945).</i>	1914? — 1926	HBC	
6B5 — Baker Lake, "Narrows"				
On south side at 63°59'N, 94°13'W. The Narrows is a local name with no official status, and refers to the eastern entrance to Baker Lake.				
6B5-1	Lamson & Hubbard <i>Source: 2—PAC-35, 2160, 4—Learmonth, 5—Copland.</i>	1920 — 1922	L&H	
6B6 — Fullerton Harbour				
64°00'N, 89°02'W.				
6B6-1	F.N. Monjo & Co. Sold to HBC and closed by them. <i>Source: 3—RCMP, 4—Learmonth, Ross, 5—Ford.</i>	1913 — 1919	OC	
6B7 — Wager Bay				
65°55'N, 90°50'W.				
6B7-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 4—Learmonth.</i>	1926 — 1947	HBC	
6B8 — Bury Cove, Roes Welcome Sound				
65°26'N, 87°05'W. Exact location of post unknown.				
6B8-1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 4—Copland, Learmonth, 5—Ford.</i>	1919 — 1920	HBC	

6B9 — Repulse Bay			
6B9—1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 4—Learmonth.</i>	1920 — present	HBC
6B9—2	Revillon Freres <i>Source: 2—PAC—31, 5676.</i>	1924 — 1936	RF
6B9—3	Naujat Cooperative Ltd. <i>Source: 1—TFRB.</i>	1968 — present	Coop.
6B10— Coral Harbour			
6B10—1	Munn, Henry Toke Near Seal Point, 64°07'N, 83°11'W. <i>Source: 4—Mitchell, 7—Mathiassen (1931), Munn.</i>	1916 — 1918	Ind.
6B10—2	Hudson's Bay Co. Known as Southampton Island post. Moved from Coats Island. <i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>	1924 — present	HBC
6B11— Coats Island			
In small unnamed harbour at 62°55'N, 81°57'W.			
6B11—1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved to Coral Harbour in 1924. Reopened 1927—28. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 7—Stewart.</i>	1918 — 1928	HBC

SUBREGION 6C: HUDSON BAY

6C1 — Mansel Island			
Swaffield Harbour, at 62°23'N, 79°44'W.			
6C1—1	Hudson's Bay Co. Originally an outpost of Wolstenholme, P.Q. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 7—Bethune.</i>	c.1925? — 1949	HBC
6C2 — Cape Smith			
On Smith Island at 60°44'N, 78°28'W.			
6C2—1	Hudson's Bay Co. <i>Source: 1—IAND, 6—HBC (EMR).</i>	1924 — 1952	HBC
6C3 — Belcher Islands, southwest side			
Possibly 56°00'N, 79°40'W., exact location unknown.			
6C3—1	Hudson's Bay Co. Moved to Tukarak Island. <i>Source: 1—IAND.</i>	1928 — 1937	HBC

6C3-2	Revillon Freres	1934 – 1935	RF
	Uncertain if same location as 6C3-1.		
	<i>Source:</i> 2-PAC-31, 5676.		

6C4—Belcher Islands, Tukarak Island

West side, 56° 12'N, 78° 53'W.

6C4-1	Hudson's Bay Co.	1937 – present	HBC
	Moved from southwest side.		
	<i>Source:</i> 1-IAND.		

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PART TWO
LIST OF FUR TRADE POSTS
BY OWNERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

This introduction to the list of posts by owners provides some additional information on the identity and mode of operation of the various categories of owners to that given in Part One. It offers only the barest outline of company histories, as in many cases little research has been done in that field. Zaslow, however, gives brief accounts of the major companies operating in the Mackenzie Valley.¹

The Hudson's Bay Company is of course the exception in this regard, and indeed the published material relating to it is so voluminous that little need be added here. It was well established in the Mackenzie Valley by 1870, and was usually the vanguard in extending the fur trade frontier to the Arctic regions during the 20th century. It has survived all competition, and is today the only major company still engaged in the fur trade in the Northwest Territories. Initial advantage and astute trading policies were important in the struggle, but the company's main advantage appears to have been the fact that the northern fur trade was, by the 20th century, only a small part of its business, and could be sustained on the earnings of other ventures during periods of economic adversity. All of the other companies, except for Revillon Frères, had been organized exclusively for the northern trade, and with their heavy fixed investment in buildings and transport systems were unable to weather prolonged periods of weak fur prices. Virtually all of the present settlements in the N.W.T. are located at the site of trading posts established and still maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Five major companies have operated in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company in the N.W.T. during the last century. The first was the firm of Hislop and Nagle. Little is known of this firm. Both men appear to have been from the Edmonton area and were apparently engaged in the fur trade in northern Alberta and perhaps on Great Slave Lake before establishing a permanent post at Fort Resolution in about 1894. Within ten years they were operating a chain of posts from Fort Smith to Fort McPherson, supplied by their own transport system. The source of their financial backing, and the nature of their marketing arrangement is not known. The firm was sold in 1911 to the newly organized Northern Trading Company, but the posts continued to be operated under the old name until the following year.²

The Northern Trading Company was formed in 1911 by a group of Alberta businessmen long associated with the fur trade, to take over and expand the Hislop and Nagle interests in the Mackenzie Valley. For a brief period the company extended its operations to the Arctic Coast. It encountered severe financial difficulties in 1924, and was reorganized as Northern Traders Limited. The new company intensified its operations within the Mackenzie Valley, and during the late 1920s and early 30s obtained almost as large a share of the trade as the Hudson's

¹M. Zaslow, *The Development of the Mackenzie Basin, 1920-1940*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in history, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1957, pp. 456-470.

²*Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 May, 1911.

Bay Company, except in white fox.³ Subsequently however, its trade declined, and its assets, including the transportation system, were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1938.

The Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company was organized by American interests from Boston. Zaslow states that it was chartered under that name in 1919, being a merger of trading and transport interests.⁴ Its predecessors however, seem to have been active in the Mackenzie Valley north of the 60th parallel as early as 1916.⁵ The company invested early and heavily in a chain of posts and an elaborate transportation system, chiefly along the Mackenzie, although they also operated posts in the Keewatin District for a couple of years. Zaslow suggests that these investments were indeed far too great in view of the returns from the fur trade. The company failed in 1924 and its assets were obtained by the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶

The Canalaska Trading Company was the Canadian subsidiary of Captain Pedersen's Northern Whaling and Trading Company of San Francisco. It was created in response to customs and shipping regulations effected in 1924, which forbade the transport of goods by alien vessels east of Herschel Island. Pedersen was well regarded by the people of the Arctic Coast, and his Canalaska Company gained a share of the white fox trade equal to that of the Hudson's Bay Company in that area. However, weakening fox prices, some poor trapping years, and labour difficulties on the San Francisco waterfront caused Pedersen to withdraw from the Arctic fur trade. His assets were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1938.

Revillon Frères Trading Company Limited was the Canadian branch of a venerable French fur business.⁷ Its attempt to gain direct access to Canadian furs dates from the early 1900s, when it opened a series of posts in Ungava as well as in northern Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Its operation in the N.W.T. however, began only in 1924, and were restricted to the Keewatin District. Despite the diversified, world-wide nature of the parent company's operations, the Canadian branch was unable to hold its own against the Hudson's Bay Company during the Depression, and its assets were sold to "The Bay" in 1936.

Several smaller companies, also externally financed and directed, operated in the Northwest Territories. The Peace River Trading Company, organized by British interests early in the century, was sold to the Lamson and Hubbard Company in

³ Zaslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁵ C.W. Dawson, *Papers, personal letters and diaries as employee of Northern Trading Co. in the Mackenzie River District*. Glenbow Foundation, Calgary.

⁶ Zaslow, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

⁷ See M. Sexe, *Histoire d'une famille et d'une industrie pendant deux siècles*, Paris, 1923.

1920.⁸ The Scogale Mercantile Company operated out of Dawson City, in the Yukon.⁹ The H. Liebes Company was a San Francisco fur business which began trading for fur directly along the Alaskan and Canadian Arctic Coasts in the latter days of the whaling era. Their experimentation with permanent posts on the Canadian side was shortlived, and most of their trade was conducted from shipboard. Captain Pedersen had been their chief trader in the Arctic, but after he left their employ to start his own business in 1922, the Liebes venture soon folded.

A number of small companies operated in the Eastern Arctic. James Cantley, a former Hudson's Bay Company trader, organized the Baffin Trading Company in 1939 with the backing of Bowring Brothers of St. John's, Newfoundland. Posts were operated on Baffin Island and on the Ungava Coast, supplied by the company's own vessel.¹⁰ Job Brothers, a fishing company from St. John's, Newfoundland, operated a trading station at Port Burwell around the turn of the century.

The Sabellum Trading Company Limited was a British trading concern, apparently formed in 1911. Its officers may have had previous connections with the whaling industry, and in any case many of their posts were located at former whaling stations. The company seems to have relied chiefly on native traders, who were supplied directly from Britain by the firm's own vessels. Trading activity was somewhat sporadic, and the company was reorganized at least once before abandoning the trade altogether around 1925.¹¹

The Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate was formed by Captain Henry Toke Munn, with the backing of British interests in 1913, and was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company ten years later.¹² Robert Kinnes and Company was a Dundee firm originally engaged in the whale fishery. It too supplied its posts directly from Britain, employing former whalers as shipmasters and as shore-based traders. The corporate structure of the three last-named companies is not clear, and there may have been some interconnections. Certainly some traders and captains were involved with more than one of them.

The F.N. Monjo Company, a fur business in New York City, was briefly engaged in the fur trade in Northern Hudson Bay, employing Captain G.W. Cleveland, a former whaler.¹³

The 260 independently operated posts were owned by 189 separate individuals. Some were run by partners, more often an individual ran more than one post during

⁸*Canadian Railway and Marine Guide*, March 1920.

⁹*Royal Northwest Mounted Police*, Annual Report, 1914.

¹⁰Personal communication, A. Stevenson, 6 Jan. 1971.

¹¹PAC-5648.

¹²H.T. Munn, *Prairie Trails and Arctic By-ways*, London, 1932.

¹³*Royal Northwest Mounted Police, Annual Report*, 1916.

his career. Of these 189 individuals, 132 only operated one post, and 20 operated two or three posts, but only by virtue of changing their location. Only 37 operated two or more posts simultaneously. Six traders, including some of the most successful and well-known, established more than four trading posts during their careers. These included L.F. Semmler, who has maintained 11 posts, chiefly in the Coronation Gulf and Mackenzie Delta areas, since 1930, and Peter Baker who maintained nine posts in the Great Slave Lake Region between 1921 and 1962. Bud Alley operated seven posts, some in partnership with Hamdon, in the Mackenzie Valley, as did W.W. Ross, chiefly in the Mackenzie Delta. Arny Steinwand has operated five posts during the last decade, mostly in the Rae area, and Noel Verville apparently ran an equal number during the 1920s along the Mackenzie. There were of course many other well-known traders who although they maintained only one or two posts, did so for a considerable length of time and had a well established clientele in their district. The number of independent posts increased rapidly during the early part of the 20th century, reaching a peak of 96 in operation between 1935 and 1939. The decline since that time has been equally steady, and only 15 remain in operation today.

Sixteen native traders have operated a total of 26 trading posts since 1870. Most operated one or two posts, although one operated five. Some of these ventures were on behalf of the larger companies, other were quite independent. The majority of native traders were Eskimos from the Western Arctic coast, the rest being Indians from the Mackenzie Valley. Around 1930, there were 12 native operated posts in the territories, but today there are only two.

In 1953, the newly created Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources began a project of relocating Eskimo groups to the High Arctic, where it was hoped that increased game resources could provide them with a better livelihood. Trading stores were established at these new locations, financed by the Eskimo Loan Fund. Although nominally under the name of an Eskimo owner, these stores were actually operated by the Department with the assistance of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. With the development of co-operative ventures in the 1960s, these stores were transferred to local co-operative ownership.

Since 1960, many co-operatives have been established in northern communities. Twelve of these actually buy furs, some in small quantities, but others, like the Aklavik Fur Garment Co-operative, are major purchasers. Most co-operative stores are in the Eastern Arctic or the Keewatin.

Almost all the mission posts were operated by the Roman Catholic Church. Six of special local significance are listed in Part One. There were however, 16 other Roman Catholic Missions which held trading licenses and may periodically have engaged in regular trade. All of these were in established settlements where there was one or more commercial trading outlets. The date of commencement of trade of these missions is not known, but may have been contemporaneous with their actual establishment. The Mackenzie River Missions were founded during the 19th century, and all applied for trading permits in 1927 when the regulations requiring them came into force. Most Mackenzie River Mission permits were returned for cancellation in the early 1940s, those from the Arctic Coast around 1950. The volume of trade varied with the policies of individual priests, but in most cases was

small. Very often the missions traded their furs in turn to the local Hudson's Bay Post.

The Moravian Mission operated a post at Port Burwell, which was actually a part of their operations on the Labrador coast rather than a purposeful extension into the N.W.T. The Anglican Church obtained permits for its missions at Hay River and Bernard Harbour but does not appear to have used them.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
1A1-1	Fort Smith	1874 – present	
1A2-1	Fort Resolution	1819 – present	
1A3-1	Hay River	1868 – 1875	
1A3-2	Hay River	1901 – present	
1A4-3	Salt River	1927? – 1937	
1A6-1	Grand Detour	1927 – 1928	OP
1A8-1	Buffalo Lake	1927? – 1929?	OP
1B1-1	Rocher River	1921? – 1963	
1B7-1	Thekulthili Lake	1924 – 1925	
1B10-1	Snowdrift	1926 – present	
1B11-1	Reliance	1926 – 1930?	
1C1-3	Yellowknife	1938 – present	
1C2-2	Rae	1906 – present	
1C3-2	Yellowknife River	1924 – 1928	OP
1C4-1	Trout Rock	1922 – 1927	
1C5-1	Old Fort Rae	1852 – 1906	
2A1-1	Fort Providence	1869 – present	
2A2-1	Fort Simpson	1822 – present	
2A3-2	Horn River	1927 – 1928?	OP
2A5-1	Jean Marie River	1964 – 1965	OP
2A9-1	Trout Lake, northeast end	1926? – 1933	OP
2A10-1	Trout Lake settlement	1964 – 1965	OP
2B1-1	Fort Liard	1805 – present	
2B5-1	Liard River Rapids	1928 – 1930?	OP
2B6-2	Deer Lake	1937 – 1938	OP
2C1-1	Fort Norman	1851 – present	
2C7-1	Old Fort Wrigley	1887 – 1904	OP originally
2C8-1	Wrigley (new site)	1966 – present	
2C9-2	Wrigley (old site)	1904 – 1966	
2C12-1	Camp Canol	1942 – 1943	
2D1-4	Fort Franklin	1932 – present	OP to 1950
2D2-2	Cameron Bay	1933 – 1937	
2D3-1	Port Radium	1937 – 1941	
2D5-3	Dease Bay	1923? – 1933	
2E1-1	Fort Good Hope	1836 – present	
2E2-2	Arctic Red River	1902 – present	OP to 1905
2E4-1	“Rabbitskin River”	c. 1925? – 1927	
2E10-2	Thunder River	1936 – 1938?	
2E12-1	“Raney”, Arctic Red River	c. 1925? – 1931	OP
3A1-1	Fort McPherson	1840 – present	
3A2-1	Husky Channel and Peel River	1926? – 1930?	OP

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
3A3-2	Rotten Eye Creek	c. 1927? – 1930?	OP
3A5-2	Peel Channel and Peel River	1928 – 1930?	OP
3A6-1	East Channel and Main channel	1927 – 1930	OP
3B1-1	Aklavik	1912 – present	
3B8-1	East Channel, Big Rock	1929 – 1930?	OP
3B10-1	Inuvik	1956 – present	
3B17-1	Reindeer Station	1949 – 1968	
4A1-1	Demarcation Point	1921 – 1924	
4A2-1	Herschel Island	1915 – 1938	
4A3-2	Shingle Point	1920 – 1928	
4A5-1	Kittigazuit	1912 – 1934	
4A6-1	Tuktoyaktuk	1934 – present	
4A8-3	Kugaluk River	1937 – 1939	OP
4A13-1	Maitland Point	1939 – 1941	
4A14-1	Baillie Point	1916 – 1939	
4A17-1	Cape Parry	1959 – 1967	
4A18-1	Letty Harbour	1927 – 1936	OP
4A18-3	Letty Harbour	1954 – 1959	OP
4A20-2	Pearce Point	1927 – 1934	OP
4B1-1	Inman River	1926 – 1932	OP
4B3-1	Bernard Harbour	1916 – 1932	
4B4-1	Cape Krusenstern	1926 – 1929	
4B7-2	Coppermine	1928 – present	
4B8-2	Asiak River	1927 – 1930	OP to 1937
4B9-1	Kugaryuak River	1927 – 1940	OP
4B10-2	Tree River	1918 – 1929	
4B11-1	Gray's Bay	1917 – 1918	
4B14-2	Banks Peninsula	1927 – 1930	
4B17-1	Burnside River	1930 – 1964	
4B18-1	Western River	1925 – 1927	
4B19-1	Baychimo Harbour	1964 – 1970	
4B20-1	Kent Peninsula	1920 – 1927	
4B22-2	Richardson Island	1933 – 1938	OP
4B24-2	Rymer Point	1926 – 1928	
4B25-2	Read Island	1931 – 1962	
4B26-1	Prince Albert Sound	1923 – 1928	
4B27-1	Holman	1939 – present	
4B28-1	Walker Bay	1928 – 1939	
4C1-1	Cambridge Bay	1923 – present	
4C2-1	Ellice River	1926 – 1927	
4C4-1	Perry River	1926 – 1928	
4C4-3	Perry River	1938 – 1941	
4C4-4	Perry River	1957 – 1967	

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
4C7-1	Simpson Strait	1923 – 1927	
4C8-1	Gjoa Haven	1927 – present	
4C9-1	Spence Bay	1949 – present	
4C10-1	Oscar Bay	1928 – 1930	
5A1-1	Cape Dorset	1913 – present	
5A2-1	Amadjuak	1921 – 1934	
5A3-1	Lake Harbour	1911 – present	
5A4-1	Hall Bay	1914 – 1920	OP
5A5-1	Frobisher Bay	1948 – present	
5A6-1	Ward Inlet	1922 – 1948	
5A7-2	Mingoaktuk	1920 – 1922	
5A9-4	Port Burwell	1916 – 1939	
5B1-1	Blacklead Island	1921 – 1936?	
5B2-1	Livingstone Fiord	1924 – 1925	
5B3-1	Sirmilling Bay	1921? – 1925?	
5B4-1	Oshualuk	1923 – 1933?	OP
5B5-1	Pangnirtung	1921 – present	
5B6-2	Kekerten	1923 – 1925?	
5B9-1	Broughton Island	1960 – present	
5B12-1	Clyde River	1923 – present	
5C3-1	Pond Inlet	1921 – present	
5C6-1	Arctic Bay	1926 – 1927	
5C6-2	Arctic Bay	1936 – present	
5C7-1	Port Leopold	1926 – 1927	
5C7-2	Port Leopold	1937 – 1940	OP
5C8-1	Fort Ross	1937 – 1948	
5C9-1	Pasley Bay	1939 – 1940	OP
5C10-1	Igloolik	1939 – present	
5C11-2	Hall Beach	1967 – present	
5D2-1	Dundas Harbour	1934 – 1936	
6A1-1	Eskimo Point	1921 – present	
6A3-2	Tavani	1929 – 1951	OP to 1935
6A5-1	Maguse Lake	1925 – 1926	OP
6A6-1	Padlei	1926 – 1960	
6A11-2	Red River	1936 – 1941	
6A12-1	Windy Lake	1928 – 1936	
6B1-1	Rankin Inlet	1957 – present	
6B2-1	Chesterfield Inlet	1911 – present	
6B3-2	Baker Lake	1925 – present	
6B4-1	Big Hips Island	1914? – 1926	
6B7-1	Wager Bay	1926 – 1947	
6B8-1	Bury Cove	1919 – 1920	
6B9-1	Repulse Bay	1920 – present	
6B10-2	Coral Harbour	1924 – present	

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
6B11-1	Coats Island	1918 – 1928	OP originally
6C1-1	Mansel Island	c. 1925? – 1949	
6C2-1	Cape Smith	1924 – 1952	
6C3-1	Belcher Islands, southwest	1928 – 1937	
6C4-1	Belcher Islands, Tukarak	1937 – present	

HISLOP AND NAGLE

1A1-2	Fort Smith	c. 1900? – 1911
1A2-2	Fort Resolution	1894? – 1912
1A3-3	Hay River	1901 – 1912
1C2-1	Rae	1902 – 1912
1C5-3	Old Fort Rae	c. 1895? – 1902
2A1-3	Fort Providence	c. 1900? – 1912
2A2-2	Fort Simpson	c. 1900? – 1912
2B1-2	Fort Liard	c. 1901? – 1909?
2C1-2	Fort Norman	c. 1900? – 1912
2C9-1	Wrigley (old site)	c. 1902? – 1908?
2E1-3	Fort Good Hope	c. 1900? – 1912
2E2-1	Arctic Red River	1901 – 1912
3A1-2	Fort McPherson	1902? – 1908

NORTHERN TRADING CO./NORTHERN TRADERS LTD.

1A1-4	Fort Smith	1912 – 1938	OP
1A2-6	Fort Resolution	1912 – 1938	
1A3-5	Hay River	1912 – 1938	
1A8-2	Buffalo Lake	1927? – 1932?	
1B1-2	Rocher River	1923 – 1936	
1B10-2	Snowdrift	1926 – 1938	OP
1C2-3	Rae	1912 – 1938	
1C3-1	Yellowknife River	1921? – 1928	
1C6-1	Marian Lake	1928 – 1932?	
2A1-5	Fort Providence	1912 – 1938	OP
2A2-3	Fort Simpson	1912 – 1938	
2A7-1	Trout Lake	1926? – 1932?	
2B1-3	Fort Liard	c. 1915? – 1938	
2B3-1	Netla River	1928 – 1932?	
2B4-2	Nahanni Butte	c. 1918? – c. 1924?	OP
2C1-3	Fort Norman	1912 – 1938	
2C5-1	Willowlake River	c. 1926? – 1932?	
2C9-3	Wrigley (old site)	1911? – 1932	

NORTHERN TRADING CO./NORTHERN TRADERS LTD. (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
2D1-2	Fort Franklin	1920? – 1932	
2D6-1	Good Hope Bay	1929 – 1929	
2E1-4	Fort Good Hope	1912 – 1938	
2E2-3	Arctic Red River	1912 – 1938	
2E12-2	“Raney”	1927? – 1929	OP
3A1-3	Fort McPherson	1913? – 1938	
3A5-1	Peel River and Peel Channel	1927? – 1932?	OP
3A6-3	East Channel and Main Channel	1928 – 1930?	OP
3B1-2	Aklavik	1913? – 1938	
3B21-2	Kipnik Channel	1933 – 1935	OP
4A5-2	Kittigazuit	c. 1917? – 1922	
4A17-1	Cape Parry	1918? – 1920?	
4B10-1	Tree River	1917 – 1918	

LAMSON AND HUBBARD CANADIAN CO.

1A1-6	Fort Smith	1919? – 1924
1A2-8	Fort Resolution	1916 – 1924
1A3-7	Hay River	1920. – 1924
1C2-4	Rae	1918 – 1924
2A1-6	Fort Providence	1918? – 1924
2A2-4	Fort Simpson	1918 – 1924
2B1-4	Fort Liard	1921? – 1924
2C1-4	Fort Norman	1918 – 1924
2D5-2	Dease Bay	1920? – 1923
2E1-5	Fort Good Hope	1918? – 1924
3A1-5	Fort McPherson	1919 – 1924
3B1-4	Aklavik	1920 – 1924
6B2-2	Chesterfield Inlet	1920 – 1922
6B5-1	Baker Lake	1920 – 1922

CANALASKA TRADING CO.

4A6-2	Tuktoyaktuk	1938 – 1939
4B4-4	Cape Krusenstern	1932 – 1934
4B12-1	Detention Harbour	1927 – 1928
4B14-1	Banks Peninsula	1926 – 1937
4B25-3	Read Island	1931 – 1938
4B28-2	Walker Bay	1932 – 1938
4C1-2	Cambridge Bay	1927 – 1938
4C3-1	White Bear Point	1926 – 1927
4C8-2	Gjoa Haven	1927 – 1938

REVILLON FRÈRES LTD.

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
6A3-1	Tavani	1928? – 1931	
6A11-1	Red River	1926? – 1936	
6B3-1	Baker Lake	1924 – 1936	
6B9-2	Repulse Bay	1924 – 1936	
6C3-2	Belcher Islands	1934 – 1935	

OTHER COMPANIES

Peace River Trading Co.

1A3-6	Hay River	1917? – 1920
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Scogale Mercantile Co.

2E2-4	Arctic Red River	1914 – 1915?
3A1-4	Fort McPherson	1914 – c. 1918?

H. Liebes and Co.

3B1-3	Aklavik	1918 – 1921
4A3-1	Shingle Point	1917 – 1921
4A5-3	Kittigazuit	1917 – 1921

Baffin Trading Co. Ltd.

5A1-2	Cape Dorset	1939 – 1948
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Job Bros.

5A9-2	Port Burwell	1903? – 1904?
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Sabellum Trading Co.

5A7-1	Mingoaktuk	1911? – 1927?
5A8-1	Cape Haven	1911? – 1927?
5B7-1	Cape Mercy	1911? – 1927?
5B8-3	Durban Harbour	c. 1924? – 1927?
5B10-1	Kivitoo	1911? – 1926?
5B11-1	Cape Henry Kater	1920 – 1927

Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate

5B4-1	Oshualuk	1918 – 1923
5B8-2	Durban Harbour	1914 – 1916
5C1-1	Button Point	1914 – 1923?
5C2-3	Albert Harbour	1919 – 1923

Robert Kinnes and Co.

5B6-1	Kekerten	c. 1915? – 1923
5B8-1	Durban Harbour	c. 1910? – 1914
5C2-1	Albert Harbour	1903 – 1909?

F.N. Monjo and Co.

6B6-1	Fullerton Harbour	1913 – 1919
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INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Alley, Bud			
2A1-7	Fort Providence	1933 – 1948	
2A2-7	Fort Simpson	1926? – 1947	
2C9-4	Wrigley	1926 – 1927	
2E1-8	Fort Good Hope	1937 – 1945	
	See also Hamdon and Alley		
Anderson, David See Polar Arc Management Ltd.			
Anderson, Martin			
4B2-1	Stapylton Bay	1921 – 1923	
Anderson, P.A.			
2E5-1	Gillis River	1931 – 1936	
Andreason, Ole			
4A7-1	Atkinson Point	1921? – 1933	
4B22-3	Richardson Island	1933 – 1943	
Andrew, Fred			
2C1-13	Fort Norman	1941 – 1944	
Baker, Peter			
1A1-7	Fort Smith	1921 – 1922	
1A4-1	Salt River	1924 – 1926	
1B6-1	Star Lake	1925 – 1927	
1B7-1	Thekulthili Lake	1924 – 1925	
1B8-2	Thekulthili Lake	1933 – 1942	
1B9-1	Nonacho Lake	1927 – 1928	
1C1-7	Yellowknife	1950 – 1951	
1C2-8	Rae	1957 – 1962	
	See also Esper and Baker.		
Bannerman	See Stewart and Bannerman.		
Bender, M.			
1A1-13	Fort Smith	1948 – 1961	
Bernier, J.E.			
5C2-2	Albert Harbour	1912 – 1919	
5C4-1	Salmon River	1912? – 1919?	
Betz, Karl			
3B4-1	Middle Peel Channel	1936 – 1939?	
Blake, A.N.			
3A1-8	Fort McPherson	1927? – 1935	
3A2-2	Husky Channel and Peel River	1926? – 1935	
Blandford, Capt.			
5A9-1	Port Burwell	1895? – 1903?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Boland, A.W.			
2D1-2	Fort Franklin	1926 - 1932	
2D5-4	Dease Bay	1923 - 1926	
Boudah, George			
2B3-2	Netla River	1932? - 1948	
Bouvier, Joseph			
2A1-8	Fort Providence	1948 - 1966	
Boxer, A.J.			
3B1-24	Aklavik	1950 - 1953	
Brackett, R. See Brockie and Brackett.			
Brockie, J. and Brackett, R.			
4B1-2	Inman River	1927 - 1930	
Brodie, James			
1A1-11	Fort Smith	1940 - 1944?	
1B3-3	Rat River	1936 - 1939	
Brouillard, Eli			
3A6-4	East and Main Channels	1936 - 1937	
Brown, Rev. B.			
2D7-2	Colville Lake	1969 - present	
Brown, H.L.			
2A2-12	Fort Simpson	1939 - 1965	
Browning, F.J.			
2A4-2	Trout River	1934 - 1959	
2A6-2	Spence River	1959 - 1965	OP
Buffum, George			
1C2-7	Rae	1944 - 1947?	
Burrel, G.			
2E2-5	Arctic Red River	1915 - 1916?	
Campbell, S.R.			
2C1-14	Fort Norman	1946 - 1948	
Carlson, Helge			
2C4-2	Mackenzie River, near Root River	1944 - 1951	
Clark, George See Tuk Traders Ltd.			
Clark, Tommie			
2E1-11	Fort Good Hope	1946 - 1947	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Clarke, W.D.			
2E2-8	Arctic Red River	1939 – 1946	OP
2E8-3	Little Chicago	1930 – 1933?	
2E11-1	Travaillant River	1927 – 1939	
Conibear, A.M.			
1A1-5	Fort Smith	1918 – 1944	
Connor, W.H.			
1A2-3	Fort Resolution	c. 1899? – 1904?	
Cooke, W.F.			
1A1-10	Fort Smith	1932 – 1940	
Cox, Charles			
2C10-1	Blackwater River	1928 – 1931?	
Craig and Daigle			
4B25-1	Read Island	1929 – 1931	
Craig, Watson, Purcell and Daigle			
4B9-2	Kugaryuak	1927 – 1930	
	See also Watson A.W., also Watson and Purcell		
Cree, James			
2A2-11	Fort Simpson	1938 – 1963	
Cunningham			
3B1-5	Aklavik	1922? – 1924?	
Daigle, S.	See Craig and Daigle, also Craig, Watson, Purcell and Daigle.		
Daniels, J.J.			
1B8-1	Thekulthili Lake	1927 – 1933	
Daniels, J.J. and Russell, John			
1B7-3	Thekulthili Lake	1926 – 1927	
	See also Russell, John.		
D'Aoust, G.H.			
1B11-4	Reliance	1962 – present	
D'Aoust, G.H. and P.			
1B10-4	Snowdrift	1940 – 1948	
D'Aoust, G.H. and Magrum			
1B11-2	Reliance	1937 – 1940	
Darwish, J.	See Houssein and Darwish.		
Dean, Stanley F.			
1A3-9	Hay River	1951? – 1955?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Dehar, Moses			
3A1-7	Fort McPherson	1927? - 1929	
DeMelt, E.R.			
1B1-4	Rocher River	1935 - 1968	
Desrosier, John			
2C11-1	Norman Wells	1937 - 1939	
DeStefanny, Gus & Lyman			
4A20-1	Pearce Point	1922? - 1924?	
Douglas, J.H.			
3B1-16	Aklavik	1939 - 1947	
Douglas, W.W.			
3A4-2	Mouth of Peel	1933 - 1937?	
3B1-14	Aklavik	1937 - 1941?	
Echternach, G., and Matthews, F.			
4A8-2	Kugaluk River	1930 - 1937	
Eckhardt, A.W.P.			
3B1-8	Aklavik	1927 - 1933	
3B21-1	Kipnik Channel	1926 - 1933	
Elmore, M.P. and G.			
2A1-2	Fort Providence	1887 - 1889	
2E1-2	Port Good Hope	1887 - 1889	
Esper and Baker			
1A2-10	Fort Resolution	1923 - 1923	
	See also Baker, Peter.		
Ethier, Constant			
3B20-3	Axel Creek	1941 - 1943	
Field, Poole			
2A8-1	Trout Lake	1923 - 1930	
2B4-3	Nahanni Butte	1928 - 1935	
Fisher, Barney			
2E3-3	Hare Indian River	1942 - 1943	
2E6-1	Mackenzie River, Mile 758	1935 - 1955?	
Forman, A.D.			
3A1-13	Fort McPherson	1961 - present	
Furlong, B.C.			
2E1-7	Fort Good Hope	1928 - 1932	
2E3-1	Hare Indian River	1920? - 1928?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Gifford, J. 2A2-5	Fort Simpson	1925 – 1935	
Giroux, M.M. 2D3-2	Port Radium	1939 – 1940	
Goodall, Mrs. J.D. 2A2-13	Fort Simpson	1945 – 1961	
Granath, Oscar 2C13-1	Oscar Creek	1929 – 1936	
Gutcher, R.A. 2C6-1	Mackenzie River, Mile 325	1937 – 1939	
Hainline	See Johnson-Hainline		
Hall, M.F. 2C1-15	Fort Norman	1950 – 1962	
2D1-5	Fort Franklin	1932 – 1939	
Hamdon and Alley 2C1-5	Fort Norman	1926 – 1932?	
2E3-3	Hare Indian River	1926 – 1929	
3B1-10	Aklavik	1929? – 1932?	
	See also Alley, Bud		
Hatting, Bill 4A5-5	Kittigazuit	1939 – 1940	
Hodgson, A.S. 1C1-6	Yellowknife	1942 – 1963	
Hornby, J.	See Melvill and Hornby.		
Houssein, M. and Darwish, J. 1C2-6	Rae	1925 – 1944	
Hurssell, Joseph and Ben 1A1-3	Fort Smith	c. 1900? – 1912?	
Hvatum, Nels 3B22-1	Hvatum Channel	1942 – 1956	
Ingraham, Victor 2D2-1	Cameron Bay	1931 – 1936	
Janes, R. 5C5-1	Eclipse Sound	1916 – 1920	
Johnson, E.H. 2E10-1	Thunder River	1933 – 1938	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Johnson, Harry			
2E7-1	Tutsieta River	1941 - 1961?	
2E8-4	Little Chicago	1935 - 1937	
2E12-3	Raney	1937 - 1941	
	Uncertain if E.H. Johnson and Harry Johnson are separate individuals.		
Johnson-Hainline			
3A1-6	Fort McPherson	1922 - 1924?	
Jomha, M.T.			
2C1-7	Fort Norman	1929 - 1937	
Jomha and Slyman			
2C1-6	Fort Norman	1927 - 1927	
2E1-6	Fort Good Hope	1927 - 1928	
Jones, E.G.			
1C1-4	Yellowknife	1938 - 1942	
Jones, J.L.			
3B1-23	Aklavik	1947 - 1949?	
3B2-2	Peel Channel	1946 - 1948	OP 1947-1948
Jones, J.L. and Ross, W.W.			
3B1-15	Aklavik	1938 - 1941	
3B20-2	Axel Creek	1940 - 1941	
	See also Ross, W.W.		
Jones, R.J.			
2A2-14	Fort Simpson	1964 - present	
2C6-2	Mackenzie River, Mile 325	1939 - 1963	
Kaeser, Paul			
1A1-14	Fort Smith	1948 - present	
Kaine, George			
1B2-1	Snuff Channel	1928? - 1936	
Kerr, Herbert			
2A6-1	Spence River	1935 - 1936	
Klengenberg, C.			
4B7-1	Coppermine	1916 - 1923	
Kollos, Dimitro			
2E9-2	Mackenzie River, Mile 791	1939 - 1940	
Kost, Mrs. V.			
3B1-11	Aklavik	1930 - 1948?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Krutko, Mike			
3A1-12	Fort McPherson	1944 – present	
Kushner, S.			
1C1-5	Yellowknife	1938 – 1942	
Lacombe, E.			
3B1-27	Aklavik	1959 – 1966	
3B11-1	Middle Channel	1930 – c. 1942?	
LaFlair, A.J.	Nahanni Butte	1915 – 1948	
Lang, K.H.			
3B1-17	Aklavik	1941 – 1964	OP 1941-1961
3B5-1	Middle Peel Channel	1936 – 1964	OP 1961-1964
Largent, Charles			
2A2-6	Fort Simpson	1926 – 1927	
Law, Austin L.			
2C1-12	Fort Norman	1938 – 1946	
Lecou, André			
2E1-10	Fort Good Hope	1943 – 1950	
Leonard, Ingwall			
4B16-1	Hood River	1936 – 1941	
Loe, Ole			
2C5-2	Willowlake River	1933 – 1937	
Look, Arthur			
1B3-2	Rat River	1935 – 1940	
Loutit, Alex			
1A2-7	Fort Resolution	1914? – 1938	
1B10-3	Snowdrift	1927 – 1928	
McBride, William			
2E9-1	Mackenzie River, Mile 791	1933 – 1935	
McKay, John J.			
1B11-3	Reliance	1938 – 1939	
Mackenzie, A.			
2C1-10	Fort Norman	1937 – 1939	
McKeown, Peter			
2C3-2	Mackenzie River near North Nahanni	1929 – 1955?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
McLellan, John 1C7-1	Mud Lake	1924? - 1943	
McLeod, M.D. 1A6-2	Grand Detour	1932 - 1935	
McLeod, Mrs. D. 2E2-7	Arctic Red River	1928 - 1929	
McNeely, W.J. 2D7-1	Colville Lake	1961 - 1968	OP
2E1-12	Fort Good Hope	1956 - 1964	
2E10-4	Thunder River	1942 - 1956	
McPherson, James E. 1A2-10	Fort Resolution	1966 - 1968	
McQueen, Mrs. Dan 1B3-4	Rat River	1938 - c. 1945?	
Mackie, S.S. 3B1-25	Aklavik	1951 - 1952	
3B1-29	Aklavik	1966 - present	
Magnusson, H. 3B7-1	East Channel	1932 - 1933?	
3B14-1	Oniak and Main Channels	1928 - 1929	
Magrum	See D'Aoust and Magrum		
Martin	See Sigurdson and Martin		
Matson, P.A. 2C1-9	Fort Norman	1936 - 1938	
Matthews, F.	See Echternach and Matthews		
Melvill, Cosmo 2D1-1	Fort Franklin	1908 - 1910	OP
2D4-1	Hornby Bay	1908 - 1909	
Melvill, C. and Hornby, J. 2D5-1	Dease Bay	1910 - 1913	
Miller, A.J. 3B1-9	Aklavik	1927 - 1929?	
Morie, J.A. 1A1-8	Fort Smith	1921 - 1938	
Morris, O.D. 4B8-1	Asiak River	1926 - 1928	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Morrison, Frank			
1B1-3	Rocher River	1924 - 1932	
1B3-1	Rat River	1928 - 1930?	
Mulholland, J.M.			
2B4-4	Nahanni Butte	1935 - 1938	
Munn, H.T.			
6B10-1	Coral Harbour	1916 - 1918	
Nahanni Trading Co.			
2B4-6	Nahanni Butte	1969 - present	
Norberg, Peter			
4B22-1	Richardson Island	1926 - 1930	
Norris, Adolphus			
3B1-18	Aklavik	1942 - 1958	OP 1942-1951
3B9-1	East Channel	1937 - 1963	OP
Ostergarde, A. and Williams, O.			
4A8-1	Kugaluk River	1922 - 1926	
4A9-1	Anderson Forks	1926 - 1929	
4A10-1	Anderson River	1918 - 1922	
Oulton, C.M.			
1A7-1	Slave River	1927 - 1932	
Overvold, R.V.			
2B6-2	Good Hope Bay	1936 - 1945	
Pantel, Arthur			
2E2-6	Arctic Red River	1928 - 1930	
Pantel, Mrs. Effie			
2E8-2	Little Chicago	1928 - 1930	
Parsons, John			
3B1-12	Aklavik	1932 - 1936	
Patterson	See Ramey and Patterson.		
Peffer, H.E.			
2A2-10	Fort Simpson	1929 - 1931	
3B1-13	Aklavik	1932 - 1961	
Peffer, S.M.			
3B2-3	Peel Channel	1948 - 1957	OP
3B20-4	Axel Creek	1943 - 1954	OP
Phillips, W.G.			
3B6-1	East Channel	1927 - 1939	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Pines, Roy			
3B1-21	Aklavik	1945 - 1950	
Pinsky and Necrasoff			
1A2-9	Fort Resolution	1920 - 1964	
1C2-5	Rae	1923 - 1933	
Polar Arc Management Ltd.			
4A6-6	Tuktoyaktuk	1965 - 1966	
Porritt, Robert			
1A3-8	Hay River	1949 - 1957?	
Purcell	See Craig, Watson, Purcell and Daigle, also Watson and Purcell.		
Ramey and Patterson			
6B3-3	Baker Lake	1961 - 1962	
Rivet, Frank			
2C1-11	Fort Norman	1937 - 1939	
Robinson, Fred			
1B4-1	Taltson River	1933 - 1940	
Rorwick, Hans			
2B2-1	Liard River	1936 - 1938	
Rosen, Axel			
3B20-1	Axel Creek	1931 - 1937	
Ross, W.W.			
2A2-8	Fort Simpson	1927 - 1930	
3A1-11	Fort McPherson	1943 - 1946	OP
3B2-1	Peel Channel	1943 - 1946	OP
3B15-1	Oniak and East Channels	1940 - 1945	OP 1941-1942
4A6-3	Tuktoyaktuk	1943 - 1947	OP
	See also Jones and Ross		
Roulier, E.			
2C2-1	Mackenzie River, Mile 271	1930 - 1935	
2C4-1	Mackenzie River, Root River	1935 - 1944	
Russell, John			
1B5-1	Hanging Ice Lake	1925 - 1927	
	See also Daniels and Russell.		

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Schellenberger, Amos 2C1-8	Fort Norman	1931 - 1950	
Schurer, J.K. 2E10-3	Thunder River	1939 - 1942	
Schweder, Frederick 6A9-1	Windy River	1940 - 1950	
Semmler, L.F. 3B1-22	Aklavik	1946 - 1956	
3B10-2	Inuvik	1956 - present	
3B19-1	Napoyak Channel	1949 - 1956	OP
4A6-4	Tuktoyaktuk	1943 - 1949	OP
4B2-3	Stapylton Bay	1930 - 1932	
4B4-5	Cape Krusenstern	1932 - 1946	OP 1935-1938
4B5-1	Basil Bay	1934 - 1938	OP
4B6-1	Richardson Bay	1935 - 1938	
4B23-1	Victoria Island	1946 - 1948	
4B25-4	Read Island	1938 - 1948	OP
4C1-3	Cambridge Bay	1939 - 1943	
Seymour, William 4B4-3	Cape Krusenstern	1927 - 1932	
Shubin, Saul 3B1-20	Aklavik	1943 - 1945	
Sigurdson, Oscar 6A2-1	Maguse River	1938 - 1950	
Sigurdson and Martin 6A7-1	Tha-anne River	1940 - 1949	
Sime, J.H. 2B1-5	Fort Liard	1938 - 1956?	
2B6-1	Deer Lake	1936 - 1937	
Simons, D.E. 6A10-1	Simons Lake	1928 - 1933	
Slyman	See Jomha and Slyman		
Smith, Irwin 6A8-1	Nueltin Lake	1928 - 1930	
Spreu, Herbert 1A3-10	Hay River	1961 - 1962?	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Steinward, Arny			
1A3-11	Hay River	1966 – present	
1C2-9	Rae	1962 – present	
1C8-2	Lac la Martre	1964 – present	
1C9-1	Snare Lake	1963 – 1967	
1C10-1	Rae Lake	1966 – present	
Stewart, Edwin John			
1C1-2	Yellowknife	1937 – 1940?	
Stewart, James			
1A1-12	Fort Smith	1944 – 1948	
Stewart, John M.			
2C3-1	Mackenzie River near North Nahanni	1924? – 1932?	
Stewart and Bannerman			
1C5-2	Old Fort Rae	1887 – 1889	
Storr, William			
4B2-4	Stapylton Bay	1939 – 1943	
Strauss, L.S.			
1A2-5	Fort Resolution	1911? – 1915?	
Strong, William			
3B1-26	Aklavik	1954 – 1956?	
Swanson, Henry A.			
2D2-3	Cameron Bay	1933 – 1937	
Swiggart, G.M.			
1A2-4	Fort Resolution	c. 1899? – 1919?	
1A3-5	Hay River	1901 – c. 1919?	
2A1-4	Fort Providence	1901? – 1908?	
Taltson River Trading Co.			
1B1-5	Rocher River	1969 – present	
Thomas, M.A.			
1C8-1	Lac la Martre	1963 – 1964	
Tuk Traders Ltd.			
4A6-5	Tuktoyaktuk	1962 – 1965	
4A9-2	Anderson Forks	1963 – 1964	
Turner, G.P.			
2A10-1	Trout Lake	1949 – 1954	OP
2B1-6	Fort Liard	1958 – 1960	
2B3-3	Netla River	1945 – 1954	
2B4-5	Nahanni Butte	1954 – 1970	

INDEPENDENTLY OPERATED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Verville, Noel			
2A3-1	Horn River	1924 - 1927	
2A4-1	Trout River	c. 1926? - 1927?	
2E8-1	Little Chicago	1927? - 1929?	
3A1-9	Fort McPherson	1928 - 1929?	
3A6-2	East and Main Channels	1927? - 1936?	
Vibbard, L.D.			
2C10-2	Blackwater River	1930 - 1932?	
Warner			
3B1-6	Aklavik	1922? - 1924?	
Watson, A.W.			
4B13-1	Kater Point	1927 - 1929	
	See also Craig, Watson, Purcell and Daigle,		
Watson and Purcell			
3A3-1	Rotten Eye Creek	1925? - 1927	
4B2-2	Stapylton Bay	1931 - 1939	
	See also Craig, Watson, Purcell and Daigle,		
Weaver, H.E.			
1C1-2	Yellowknife	1937 - present	
White, G.A.			
3B13-1	Aklavik Channel	1943 - 1947	
Whittington, A.E.			
2A2-9	Fort Simpson	1929? - 1956?	
Williams, O.	See Ostergarde and Williams.		
Wolki, Fritz			
4A15-1	Horton River	c. 1918? - 1921	
Wyant, E.W.			
4A15-2	Horton River	1921 - 1931	
York and Lyall			
1A1-9	Fort Smith	1924 - 1932	
1A4-2	Salt River	1925 - 1928?	
1A5-1	Grand Detour	1927 - 1929	

NATIVE OWNED

Angulalik, Stephen			
4C4-2	Perry River	1928 - 1957	
4C5-1	Sherman Inlet	1947 - 1955	

NATIVE OWNED (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
Anuktuk, Dennis			
4A4-1	Kendall Island	1913 - 1928	
Bolt, Etna			
4B24-1	Rymer Point	1919 - 1936	
Cardinal, Fred			
2E2-9	Arctic Red River	1944 - 1951	OP
3A6-5	East Channel and Main Channel	1943 - 1951	
Carpenter, Fred			
4A21-1	Sachs Harbour	1958 - present	
Day, William			
3B1-7	Aklavik	1926 - 1930	
3B1-19	Aklavik	1942 - 1943	
3B13-1	Aklavik Channel	1929 - 1930	
4A5-4	Kittigazuit	1931 - 1934	
4A16-1	Tom Cod Bay	1927? - 1930?	
Firth, James			
3A4-1	Mouth of the Peel	1927? - 1930?	
Goose, Tommy			
4B15-1	Arctic Sound	1931 - 1934	
Kakfwi, Gabriel			
2E1-9	Fort Good Hope	1937 - 1956	
2E5-2	Gillis River	1932 - 1937	
Klengenberg, Lena			
4B4-2	Cape Krusenstern	1926 - 1936	
Klengenberg, Patrick			
4B4-21	Wilmot Islands	1925 - 1941	
4C6-1	Terror Bay	1940 - 1944	
Kunnezzi, Andrew			
3A1-10	Fort McPherson	1943 - 1950	
3B3-1	"Oniak Creek"	1941 - 1945?	
Nannengaksek, Bennett			
4A12-1	Nicholson Island	1927 - 1929	
Norwegian, Louis			
2A5-2	Jean Marie River	1965 - present	
Semple, John			
3A4-3	Mouth of the Peel	1946 - 1949	
Wolki, Fred			
3B17-1	Middle Channel	1928 - 1929	
3B18-1	East Channel	1929 - 1930	

GOVERNMENT STORES
(Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources)

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation	Status
5D1-1	Resolute Bay	1953 - 1961	
5D3-1	Craig Harbour	1953 - 1957	
5D4-1	Grise Fiord	1957 - 1961	

COOPERATIVE STORES

Post Code	Owner	Location	Dates of Operation
1C2-10	Etseradai Coop. Assoc.	Rae	1966 - present
3B1-28	Aklavik Fur Garment Coop.	Aklavik	1964 - present
4A19-2	Paulatuk Coop. Assoc.	Paulatuk	1967 - present
4C11-3	Koomiut Coop. Assoc.	Pelly Bay	1966 - present
5A1-3	West Baffin Coop.	Cape Dorset	1962 - present
5A9-5	Kikitaoyak Eskimo Coop.	Port Burwell	1960 - present
5C10-3	Igloolik Eskimo Coop.	Igloolik	1965 - present
5C11-1	Igloolik Eskimo Coop.	Hall Beach	1965 - present
5D1-2	Resolute Bay Coop.	Resolute Bay	1961 - present
5D4-2	Grise Fiord Coop.	Grise Fiord	1961 - present
6A4-1	Issatik Eskimo Coop.	Whale Cove	1963 - present
6B9-3	Naujat Coop. Ltd.	Repulse Bay	1968 - present

MISSION POSTS

Roman Catholic

Post Code	Location	Dates of Operation
4A11-1	Stanton	1942 – 1954
4A18-2	Letty Harbour	1928 – 1942
4A19-1	Paulatuk	1942 – 1954
4C11-1	Pelly Bay	1947? – 1949?
4C11-2	Pelly Bay	1957 – 1966
5C10-2	Igloolik	1947? – 1949?

Other Roman Catholic missions which held trading licences and may periodically have engaged in regular trade. (Not listed in Part One).

1A1	Fort Smith	2C9	Wrigley (old site)
1A2	Fort Resolution	2E1	Fort Good Hope
1A3	Hay River	2E2	Arctic Red River
1C2	Rae	3B2	Aklavik
2A1	Fort Providence	4B7	Coppermine
2A2	Fort Simpson	4B17	Burnside River
2B1	Fort Liard	4B27	Holman
2C1	Fort Norman	6B2	Chesterfield

Moravian

5A9-3	Port Burwell	1904 – 1924
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The Anglican Church obtained permits for its missions at Hay River and Bernard Harbour but does not appear to have used them.

APPENDIX A

FUR TRADE POSTS

IN OPERATION OCTOBER 1970

Post Code[*]	Location	Owner	Date of estab- lishment
1A1-1	Fort Smith	HBC	1874
1A1-14	Fort Smith	Kaeser	1948
1A2-1	Fort Resolution	HBC	1819
1A3-2	Hay River	HBC	1901
1A3-11	Hay River	Steinwand	1966
1B1-5	Rocher River	Taltson River Trading Co.	1969
1B10-1	Snowdrift	HBC	1926
1B11-4	Reliance	D'Aoust	1962
1C1-1	Yellowknife	Weaver and Devore	1937
1C1-3	Yellowknife	HBC	1938
1C2-2	Rae	HBC	1906
1C2-9	Rae	Steinwand	1962
1C2-10	Rae	Etseradai Coop.	1966
1C8-2	Lac la Martre	Steinwand	1963
1C10-1	Rae Lake	Steinwand	1966
2A1-1	Fort Providence	HBC	1869
2A2-1	Fort Simpson	HBC	1822
2A2-14	Fort Simpson	Jones	1964
2A5-2	Jean Marie River	Norwegian	1965
2B1-1	Fort Liard	HBC	1805
2B4-6	Nahanni Butte	Nahanni Trading Co.	1969
2C1-1	Fort Norman	HBC	1851
2C8-1	Wrigley (new site)	HBC	1966
2D1-4	Fort Franklin	HBC	1932
2D7-2	Colville Lake	Brown	1969
2E1-1	Fort Good Hope	HBC	1834
2E2-2	Arctic Red River	HBC	1902
3A1-1	Fort McPherson	HBC	1840
3A1-12	Fort McPherson	Krutko	1944
3A1-13	Fort McPherson	Forman	1961
3B1-1	Aklavik	HBC	1912
3B1-28	Aklavik	Aklavik Fur Garment Coop.	1964
3B1-29	Aklavik	Mackie	1966
3B10-1	Inuvik	HBC	1956
3B10-2	Inuvik	Semmler	1956
4A6-1	Tuktoyaktuk	HBC	1934
4A19-2	Paulatuk	Paulatuk Coop.	1967
4A21-1	Sachs Harbour	Carpenter	1958

FUR TRADE POSTS
IN OPERATION OCTOBER 1970
 (cont'd)

Post Code	Location	Owner	Date of estab- lishment
4B7-2	Coppermine	HBC	1928
4B27-1	Holman	HBC	1939
4C1-1	Cambridge Bay	HBC	1923
4C8-1	Gjoa Haven	HBC	1927
4C9-1	Spence Bay	HBC	1949
4C11-3	Pelly Bay	Koomiut Coop.	1966
5A1-1	Cape Dorset	HBC	1913
5A1-3	Cape Dorset	West Baffin Coop.	1962
5A3-1	Lake Harbour	HBC	1911
5A5-1	Frobisher Bay	HBC	1948
5A9-5	Port Burwell	Kikitaoyak Coop.	1960
5B5-1	Pangnirtung	HBC	1921
5B9-1	Broughton Island	HBC	1960
5B12-1	Clyde River	HBC	1923
5C3-1	Pond Inlet	HBC	1921
5C6-2	Arctic Bay	HBC	1936
5C10-1	Igloolik	HBC	1939
5C10-3	Igloolik	Igloolik Coop.	1965
5C11-1	Hall Beach	Igloolik Coop.	1965
5C11-2	Hall Beach	HBC	1967
5D1-2	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay Coop.	1961
5D4-2	Grise Fiord	Grise Fiord Coop.	1961
6A1-1	Eskimo Point	HBC	1921
6A4-1	Whale Cove	Issatik Coop.	1963
6B1-1	Rankin Inlet	HBC	1957
6B2-1	Chesterfield Inlet	HBC	1911
6B3-2	Baker Lake	HBC	1925
6B9-1	Repulse Bay	HBC	1920
6B9-3	Repulse Bay	Naujat Coop.	1968
6B10-2	Coral Harbour	HBC	1924
6C4-1	Belcher Islands	HBC	1937

**TABLE 10 — Trading Posts Open, October 1970, by
Ownership and Region**

	HBC	IND.	NAT.	COOP.	TOTAL
Great Slave Lake	6	8	0	1	15
Mackenzie River	8	3	1	0	12
Mackenzie Delta	3	4	0	1	8
Arctic Coast	6	0	1	2	9
Eastern Arctic	10	0	0	6	16
Keewatin	7	0	0	2	9
TOTAL	40	15	2	12	69

